

THE TEXT AND TRANSMISSION OF 2 THESSALONIANS

by

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## ABSTRACT

The text and transmission of 2 Thessalonians has not received serious scholarly attention in more than a century. This ancient Christian letter survives in Greek in more than 600 manuscripts, but prior editions have not been based on a comprehensive and systematic selection of the extant evidence. This thesis examines the Greek manuscript tradition of 2 Thessalonians using the *Teststellen* method to identify the manuscripts most important for the early history of the text. Based on these manuscripts, a critical text and apparatus is presented in Chapter 2. Chapter 3 offers a textual commentary which details the rationale for the selected readings and discusses the most relevant textual variants. In Chapter 4, the genealogical relationships between the manuscripts are analyzed to ascertain what can be detected about the textual transmission of 2 Thessalonians. Chapter 5 catalogues and examines the various paratextual features of the manuscripts included in this study.

This thesis provides, to date, the most comprehensive account of the most significant manuscripts of 2 Thessalonians. It also includes the most extensive genealogical data available for the epistle's textual tradition. Its new assessment of the data results in five differences from the standard critical edition (NA28). In addition to numerous genealogical and paratextual findings, the thesis demonstrates the stability of the extant tradition of 2 Thessalonians.

Homo timens Deum, voluntatem eius in Scripturis sanctis diligenter inquit. Et ne amet certamina, pietate mansuetus; praemunitus etiam scientia linguarum, ne in verbis locutionibusque ignotis haereat, praemunitus etiam cognitione quarumdam rerum necessariorum, ne vim naturamve earum quae propter similitudinem adhibentur, ignoret; adiuvante etiam codicum veritate, quam sollers emendationis diligentia procuravit; veniat ita instructus ad ambigua Scripturarum discutienda atque solvenda.

– Augustine, De doctrina Christiana 3.1



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Finally, I would like to thank my family for their encouragement and especially the time they allowed me to work on the thesis away from home. I undertook this project while also working full-time—such an endeavor could not have happened without their support and sacrifice. The love and faith of my wife, Christy, and my daughters, Allie and Lydia, helped sustain me from beginning to end.

Given the nature of this thesis with its countless text-critical details and calculations, I am keenly aware of the possibility of *errata*. Indeed, having undertaken this type of research, I am now much more sympathetic to the copyists who produced the manuscripts of 2 Thessalonians and the challenges they faced in striving to reproduce their exemplars error-free. Nevertheless, any errors or other shortcomings that remain in this thesis are my own.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

<i>al</i>	<i>alii</i>
AF	<i>The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers</i> . By A Committee of the Oxford Society of Historical Theology. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905.
BDAG	Bauer W. <i>A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> . Translated and revised by W. F. Arndt, F. W. Gingrich, and F. W. Danker. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.
BDF	Blass, F., and A. Debrunner. <i>A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> . Translated and revised by R. W. Funk. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961.
Brill's New Pauly	<i>Brill's New Pauly: Encyclopedia of the Ancient World</i> . Edited by H. Cancik, H. Schneider, and M. Landfester. Leiden: Brill, 2011.
Byz	The Byzantine Text
CBGM	Coherence-Based Genealogical Method
CNTTS	Center for New Testament Textual Studies
CSNTM	Center for the Study of New Testament Manuscripts
ECM	<i>Editio Critica Maior</i>
<i>f.</i>	Folio
Fee	Fee, G. D. <i>The First and Second Letters to the Thessalonians</i> . The New International Commentary on the New Testament. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009.
Findlay	Findlay, G. G. <i>The Epistles of Paul the Apostle to the Thessalonians</i> . Cambridge Greek Testament for Schools and Colleges. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1904.
GA	Gregory-Aland
IGNTP	The International Greek New Testament Project
INTF	Institut für Neutestamentliche Textforschung



LSJ	Liddell, H. G., and R. Scott. <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> . 9th ed. with supplement. Revised by H. S. Jones. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968.
Moulton-Howard II	Howard, W. F. <i>Accidence and Word-Formation</i> . Vol. 2 of <i>A Grammar of New Testament Greek</i> . Edited by J. H. Moulton. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1929.
Moulton-Turner III	Turner, N. <i>Syntax</i> . Vol. 3 of <i>A Grammar of New Testament Greek</i> . Edited by J. H. Moulton. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1963.
MS(S)	Manuscript(s)
NA25	<i>Novum Testamentum Graece</i> . Edited by E. Nestle, E. Nestle, and K. Aland. 25th ed. Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1963.
NA26	<i>Novum Testamentum Graece</i> . Edited by K. Aland, M. Black, C. M. Martini, B. M. Metzger, and A. Wikgren. 26th ed. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1979.
NA27	<i>Novum Testamentum Graece</i> . Edited by B. Aland, K. Aland, J. Karavidopoulos, C. M. Martini, and B. M. Metzger. 27th ed. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1993.
NA28	<i>Novum Testamentum Graece</i> . Edited by B. Aland, K. Aland, J. Karavidopoulos, C. M. Martini, and B. M. Metzger. 28th revised edition. Edited by the Institute for New Testament Textual Research at Münster/Westphalia under the direction of Holger Strutwolf. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2012.
NTVMR	New Testament Virtual Manuscript Room
<i>pc</i>	<i>pauci</i>
PG	<i>Patrologia graeca</i> . Edited by J.-P. Migne. 162 vols. Paris, 1857–1886.
<i>pm</i>	<i>permulti</i>
Rigaux	Rigaux B. <i>Les Épitres aux Thessaloniens</i> . Collection d'Études Bibliques. Paris: Gabalda, 1956.
RP	<i>The New Testament in the Original Greek: Byzantine Textform</i> . Compiled and Arranged by M. A. Robinson and W. G. Pierpont. Southborough: Chilton Book Publishing, 2005.
SBLGNT	<i>Society of the Biblical Literature Greek New Testament</i> . Edited by M. W. Holmes. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2010.

Smyth	Smyth, H. W. <i>Greek Grammar</i> . Revised by G. M. Messing. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956.
Tischendorf	Tischendorf, C. <i>Novum Testamentum Graece</i> . 8th ed. 2 vols. Lipsiae: Giesecke & Devrient, 1869-72.
THGNT	<i>The Greek New Testament Produced at Tyndale House, Cambridge</i> . Edited by P. J. Williams and D. Jongkind. Wheaton: Crossway, 2017.
TLG	Thesaurus Linguae Graecae
TuT	<i>Text und Textwert</i>
UBS5	<i>The Greek New Testament</i> . Edited by B. Aland, K. Aland, J. Karavidopoulos, C. M. Martini, and B. Metzger. 5 <sup>th</sup> revised edition. Prepared by the Institute for New Testament Textual Research at Münster/Westphalia under the direction of Holger Strutwolf. Stuttgart: United Bible Societies, 2014.
von Soden	Soden, H. <i>Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt hergestellt auf Grund ihrer Textgeschichte</i> . 4 vols. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1902–13.
Weima	Weima, J. A. D. <i>1–2 Thessalonians</i> . Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2014.
WH	Westcott, B. F. and F. J. Hort. <i>The New Testament in the Original Greek</i> . American Edition. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1881.
Zimmer	Zimmer, F. <i>Der Text der Thessalonicherbriefe: samt textkritischem Apparat und Kommentar</i> . Quedlinburg: Chr. Friedr. Viewegs, 1893.



## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

The primary objectives of New Testament Textual Criticism are, firstly, the identification of the earliest forms of the text recoverable among the extant manuscripts and, secondly, the study of the text's transmission through history.<sup>1</sup> To this end, scholars create both reconstructions of the text and critical apparatuses, the former serving the first goal and the latter the second. These tools then enable pastors, exegetes, and, indeed, anyone interested in the New Testament more easily to access its text and variants according to their various needs and interests. With the New Testament, unlike so much of the literature from antiquity, these text-critical objectives are problematized by an abundance of evidence. That is to say, the New Testament survives in more manuscripts than any other classical writing. Eldon Epp summarizes this situation succinctly:

The quantity of MSS that we possess, ... accounts, on the one hand, for the optimism in the discipline and for the promise of solid results, but also, on the other hand, for the extreme complexity in the study of the NT text. The writings of no Greek classical author are preserved on this scale.<sup>2</sup>

Somewhat surprisingly, the vast majority of the manuscripts to which Epp refers have yet to be fully examined and incorporated into the critical editions of the New Testament. Indeed,

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<sup>1</sup> For a helpful discussion on these two primary goals (or in his nomenclature a “unitary goal”) see Eldon J. Epp, “It’s All about Variants: A Variant-Conscious Approach to New Testament Textual Criticism,” *HTR* 100 (1999): 275–308; see also Ronald S. Hendel, “The Epistemology of Textual Criticism,” in *Reading the Bible in Ancient Traditions and Modern Editions: Studies in Memory of Peter W. Flint* (ed. Andrew B. Perrin, Kyung S. Baek, and Daniel K. Falk; Atlanta: SBL Press, 2017), 252. I also find much affinity with Colwell’s assessment: “the task of textual criticism is to establish the form of the text in time and place” (E. C. Colwell, “Hort Redivivus: A Plea and a Program,” in *Transitions in Biblical Scholarship* [ed. J. C. Rylaarsdam; Essays in Divinity 6; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968], 147).

<sup>2</sup> Eldon J. Epp, “Decision Points in Past, Present, and Future New Testament Textual Criticism,” in *Studies in the Theory and Method of New Testament Textual Criticism* (ed. Eldon Jay Epp and Gordon D. Fee; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 31. For recent discussions tempering the claims sometimes made about the significance of the quantity of Greek New Testament manuscripts in general and vis-à-vis classical texts see Jacob W. Peterson, “Math Myths: How Many Manuscripts We Have and Why More Isn’t Always Better,” in *Myths and Mistakes in New Testament Textual Criticism* (ed. Elijah Hixson and Peter J. Gurry; Downers Grove: IVP Academic, 2019), 48–69; James B. Prothro, “Myths about Classical Literature: Responsibly Comparing the New Testament to Ancient Works,” in *Myths and Mistakes in New Testament Textual Criticism* (ed. Elijah Hixson and Peter J. Gurry; Downers Grove: IVP Academic, 2019), 70–89.

one of the unfinished tasks of New Testament Textual Criticism is the complete collation of all extant Greek manuscripts. Any outcome short of this target ultimately will leave scholars and students bereft of the comprehensive data needed to trace the complete history of the New Testament's textual transmission and to access all known readings. And until this vital work is complete, a history of the New Testament's transmission, in a sense, cannot be written and any critical reconstruction of its text will be based on incomplete data.<sup>3</sup> Yet, technological advancements within the last twenty years have made this goal more feasible than ever. The number of digital images for manuscripts available online increases daily.<sup>4</sup> And transcription and collation software has been created and is being updated continually, enabling scholars more quickly to transcribe manuscripts and to create critical editions. These developments have reduced the text critic's work by countless hours and made the possibility of transcribing all continuous-text Greek manuscripts, especially for the smaller epistles, a reality.

In fact, several text-critical projects have been completed recently, whose goal, in part, was to analyze the history of individual New Testament books based on broader textual data and more complete transcriptions. For instance, in his 2006 monograph, *The Epistle of Jude: Its Text and Transmission*, Tommy Wasserman transcribed all of the continuous-text Greek manuscripts for the Epistle of Jude. In 2015, Stephen C. Carlson published *The Text of*

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<sup>3</sup> The words of Thomas C. Geer Jr.—as noted recently by Tommy Wasserman and stated over twenty years ago!—powerfully articulate the problem: “For too long in our discipline, too much has been based on too little. The time has come for full collations of MSS to enable us to write confidently about the history of the NT text. As the readings within the MSS become known and used in critical editions, they may also have some impact on the search for the original text. But before we can know that, we must do the work ahead of us. For three or four centuries now, textual critics have bemoaned the lack of information about the primary witnesses. How many more centuries must we wait before we deal with this, the major desideratum of NT textual criticism? I issue a plea . . . we not allow ourselves to stop so short of our ultimate goal. . . [the] complete study of the witnesses to the NT text” (“Analyzing and Categorizing New Testament Manuscripts,” in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research* [ed. Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes; 1st ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995], 265–266; cf. Tommy Wasserman, *The Epistle of Jude: Its Text and Transmission* [Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 2006], 25).

<sup>4</sup> See especially the New Testament Virtual Manuscript Room and the Center for the Study of New Testament Manuscripts: <http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de> and <http://csntm.org>, respectively.

*Galatians and Its History*; his textual base was the collation of 92 witnesses.<sup>5</sup> In 2014, Matthew Solomon transcribed all of the continuous-text Greek manuscripts of Philemon for his dissertation.<sup>6</sup> These shorter New Testament epistles are especially suited for such studies because they limit the amount of data to analyze and present a feasible number of manuscripts to transcribe.

The efforts of the aforementioned dissertations—i.e., to expand the textual data available for the New Testament text—align with the goal of one of the major projects within the field, the *Novum Testamentum Graecum Editio Critica Maior* (ECM). The ECM, an initiative of the Institut für neutestamentliche Textforschung (INTF), but now also partnered by the International Greek New Testament Project (IGNTP) and the Kirchliche Hochschule Wuppertal/Bethel, seeks to provide “the most comprehensive survey of the evidence for all forms of the text ever undertaken” and to “document the Greek textual history of the first millennium”—goals which are accomplished (as expected) through the creation of a critical text and apparatus.<sup>7</sup> To date, the ECM volumes on the Catholic Epistles and Acts of the Apostles have appeared in print, both overseen by the INTF.<sup>8</sup> Under the auspices of the IGNTP, work is nearly complete for the Gospel of John. The IGNTP is also overseeing the

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<sup>5</sup> For the majority of the manuscripts utilized in his study, Carlson relied on the transcriptions of Reuben Swanson (cf. *The Text of Galatians and Its History* [WUNT 2:385; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015], 46–54).

<sup>6</sup> S. Matthew Solomon, “The Textual History of Philemon” (Ph.D. diss., New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary, 2014).

<sup>7</sup> For more on the IGNTP and ECM and for the source of the quotes above see the following: (1) <http://www.birmingham.ac.uk/schools/ptr/departments/theologyandreligion/research/projects/gospel-john.aspx>. (2) <http://www.uni-muenster.de/INTF/Projects.html>. For a brief history of the partnership between these two organizations see K. Wachtel and D. C. Parker, “The Joint IGNTP/INTF Editio Critica Maior of the Gospel of John: Its Goals and Their Significance for New Testament Scholarship” (paper presented at the General Meeting of SNTS, Halle, 2005). Online: [http://epapers.bham.ac.uk/754/1/2005\\_SNTS\\_WachtelParker.pdf](http://epapers.bham.ac.uk/754/1/2005_SNTS_WachtelParker.pdf). Finally, for a more complete history of the IGNTP see Eldon Jay Epp, “The International Greek New Testament Project: Motivation and History,” *NovT* 39 (1997): 1–20.

<sup>8</sup> Barbara Aland et al., eds., *Novum Testamentum Graecum: Editio Critica Maior. IV. Die Katholischen Briefe* (2d. rev. ed.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2013); Holger Strutwolf et al., eds., *Novum Testamentum Graecum: Editio Critica Maior. III. Die Apostelgeschichte* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2017).

ECM for the Pauline Epistles, which is well on its way with multiple teams transcribing manuscripts.<sup>9</sup>

It is from the academic context described above that the present thesis on 2 Thessalonians emerges. As noted, students and scholars of the New Testament have turned their attention toward the study of the transmission of individual books and toward broadening the textual base for such endeavors. This thesis intends to contribute toward this effort through a study of the text and textual transmission of 2 Thessalonians. This analysis will be based on transcriptions of an unprecedented number of manuscripts for 2 Thessalonians.<sup>10</sup> To my knowledge the textual transmission of 2 Thessalonians has not been studied in depth in over a century.<sup>11</sup> Given this lack of attention and the ECM's planned work on the Pauline epistles in the years ahead, an investigation of 2 Thessalonians is fitting and well-timed.

This thesis has four primary objectives: (1) the production of a critical text and critical apparatus for 2 Thessalonians; (2) a commentary that justifies the readings chosen herein and traces the development of the most important variants; (3) an examination of the genealogical relationships among select manuscripts; and (4) a survey of select paratextual features that were observed in the transcription phase of this project.

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<sup>9</sup> Cf. <http://www.igntp.org>. The editors assigned to the Thessalonian epistles are Ekaterini Tsalamponi of the Aristotle University, Thessaloniki and Christos Karakolis of the University of Athens.

<sup>10</sup> I have not tallied the number of manuscripts for 2 Thessalonians utilized by von Soden in his *editio maior* (H. von Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt hergestellt auf Grund ihrer Textgeschichte* [4 vols.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1902–13]). Yet even should this number prove greater than the number of manuscripts transcribed in the present thesis, their re-transcription herein is justified, not least because von Soden's edition is notorious for transcription errors: "the information in von Soden's apparatus is so unreliable that the reader soon comes to regard this remarkably full apparatus as little more than a collection of variant readings whose attestation needs verification elsewhere" (Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, *The Text of the New Testament* [trans. Erroll F. Rhodes; 2d ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989], 23).

<sup>11</sup> The only dissertation-length study on the text of 2 Thessalonians (of which I am aware) is Friedrich Zimmer, *Der Text der Thessalonicherbriefe* (Quedlinburg: Chr. Friedr. Viewegs, 1893). Zimmer focused mostly on majuscules, incorporating only a limited number of minuscules (cf. *ibid.*, 2). There is also of course the mass of data available for 2 Thessalonians which can be culled from the apparatuses of the great critical editions of the Greek New Testament and the early versions. For a convenient list of the most important critical editions of the Greek New Testament see Eldon J. Epp, *Junia: The First Woman Apostle* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005), 62–63; for a list of the most important critical editions of the early versions see NA28, 67–76.

In this introductory chapter, I will lay out my procedure for selecting the manuscripts included in this project, discuss how I define the editorial text presented in this thesis, outline the theory that has guided my text-critical decisions for the critical text, and offer a brief preview of the chapters that follow.

### Manuscript Selection

Paul's second epistle to the church at Thessalonica is preserved in at least 595 extant continuous-text Greek manuscripts from antiquity, including 2 papyri, 18 majuscules, and at least 575 minuscules.<sup>12</sup> The overwhelming majority of these manuscripts are medieval, with only 8 dated paleographically before the ninth century,<sup>13</sup> though many of the later manuscripts, of course, bear witness to an earlier form of the text.<sup>14</sup> This number of manuscripts is too many to collate for a single doctoral thesis of a literary work the size of 2 Thessalonians; therefore, a suitable procedure must be identified to determine which manuscripts to include and exclude. The approach of the ECM to this problem is to include all papyri, but to filter out minuscules and sometimes majuscules based on the degree of their agreement with the later Byzantine form of the text, i.e., the Majority text.<sup>15</sup> In fact, only

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<sup>12</sup> These numbers are based on the data available in Kurt Aland, ed., *Text und Textwert der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments* (II: Die Paulinischen Briefe; Band 4: Kolosserbrief bis Hebräerbrief; ANTF 19; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1991). I have counted all MSS in the "Verzeichnende Beschreibung" section of *Text und Textwert* which have at least one *Teststellen* in 2 Thessalonians. There are also nineteen new minuscules that have been added to the list since *Text und Textwert* that may include 2 Thessalonians (<http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de>). I have not included these additional minuscules in this thesis. I am not including Greek lectionaries in this project.

<sup>13</sup> Namely, P30, P92, 01, 02, 03, 06, 016, 0111; the source for the dating of these manuscripts is Kurt Aland et al., eds., *Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments* (ANTF 1; 2d ed.; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1994).

<sup>14</sup> For instance, minuscule 1739, a tenth-century manuscript, appears to preserve, at times, a text dating to the time of Origen. Regarding this situation, David Parker concludes that "1739 is one of the most telling proofs of the fact that the age of the text contained in a manuscript is not the same as the age of the manuscript" (D. C. Parker, *An Introduction to the New Testament Manuscripts and Their Texts* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008], 262).

<sup>15</sup> Actually, there is not a one-to-one correspondence between the Byzantine text and the Majority text. I note the editors' comments for the ECM edition of James: "The term *Majority text* refers here to readings supported by the majority of all the manuscripts in passages where textual variants are found, whether or not they agree with the established text [i.e., the ECM's text]. The term *Byzantine* or *Koine* text refers to the form of



minuscules with less than 90% and 85% agreement with the Majority text were included in the ECM's editions for the Catholic Epistles and the Acts of the Apostles, respectively. These percentages were based on the data available for each manuscript in *Text und Textwert*,<sup>16</sup> a tool created by the INTF for the very purpose of identifying the manuscripts to include or exclude in the ECM.<sup>17</sup> *Text und Textwert* examines every available continuous-text Greek manuscript at the same test passages (or *Teststellen*), allowing users to ascertain which manuscripts show the highest agreement with the Majority text across the test passages. After discussing one such test passage in their handbook on textual criticism, Kurt and Barbara Aland make the following conclusion about the benefit of this procedure:

The picture we gain from this randomly selected test passage recurs elsewhere almost consistently: the overwhelming majority of manuscripts support *one* reading, the reading of the *majority text*. This is the reading of the Byzantine text, to which some stray witnesses of different text types may also conform. On the whole the manuscripts listed are always the same. This shows how pointless it would be to list them all in an edition of the New Testament. These manuscripts are essentially mere copies, repeating the same text with only minor variation, irrelevant to the reconstruction of the original text, and properly to be eliminated.<sup>18</sup>

*Text und Textwert* thus enables the would-be editor of a critical edition to select for inclusion in the apparatus the manuscripts with the greatest deviation from the Majority

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text defined by those readings which are attested by the majority of the manuscripts *and* differ from the established text" (*Die Katholischen Briefe*, 12).

<sup>16</sup> *Text und Textwert der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments* (ANTF 9–11, 16–21, 27–31, 35–6; Berlin 1987–2005).

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, *The Text of the New Testament* (trans. Erroll F. Rhodes; 2d ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989), 317–18.

<sup>18</sup> Aland and Aland, *The Text of the New Testament*, 321. The entirety of chapter VIII, "Categories and Text Types, and the Textual Analysis of Manuscripts," provides a very accessible description of *Text und Textwert* (ibid., 317–37). In the quote above, the Alands, I think, understate the relevance of the manuscripts which conform to the Byzantine text. Westcott and Hort strike a better balance: "This large amount of present ignorance respecting the contents of cursives is much to be lamented. Valuable texts may lie hidden among them; many of them are doubtless sprinkled with relics of valuable texts now destroyed; and fresh collations always throw more or less light on the later history of the text generally, and sometimes on its earlier history" (Brook Foss Westcott and Fenton John Hort, *The New Testament in the Original Greek: Introduction and Appendix* [New York: Harper and Brothers, 1882], 77).

text.<sup>19</sup> The *Teststellen* method is the only procedure that tests the quality of manuscripts that has been applied to all of the New Testament and, most importantly for the present study, to Paul's epistles.<sup>20</sup> Thus, for my thesis, I have adopted a method similar to the ECM's approach in order to pare down the bulk of the minuscules to those that evince the greatest deviation from the Majority text and are therefore most likely to provide unknown readings. As noted, in the ECM volumes, minuscules are only included that have less than 85–90% agreement with the Majority text (depending on the section in question).<sup>21</sup> For this study, I have chosen to include all papyri and majuscules but only minuscules which share 87.5% agreement or less with the Majority text in test passages across both Thessalonian epistles.<sup>22</sup> I describe this process in more detail below.

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<sup>19</sup> Of course, the unstated assumption in the Alands' reasoning is that if a manuscript agrees with the Majority text in the test passages selected then it likely agrees in other places as well. In other words, they assume the sampling error in the process is negligible. Later in this thesis I hope to test this assumption. For other criticisms of the *Teststellen* method see W. Larry Richards, "A Closer Look: *Text und Textwert der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments: Die Katholischen Briefe*," *AUSS* 34 (1996): 37–46; idem, "Test Passages or Profiles: A Comparison of Two Text-Critical Methods," *JBL* 115 (1996): 251–69.

<sup>20</sup> For alternative ways of studying the textual relationships between manuscripts see Thomas C. Geer, Jr. and Jean-François Racine, "Analyzing and Categorizing New Testament Manuscripts," in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research* (ed. Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes; NTTSD 42; 2d ed.; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 497–518.

<sup>21</sup> Manuscripts with 90% and 85% agreement with the Majority text or greater were excluded for the Catholic Epistles and the Acts of the Apostles, respectively. The calculations were based on all of the test passages across the Catholic Epistles (98 *Teststellen*) and the Acts of the Apostles (104 *Teststellen*); for a more detailed description of the process see the introductions to the fascicles of the ECM. For how manuscripts were selected for the forthcoming volume(s) of the Gospel of John see David C. Parker et al. "The Selection of Greek Manuscripts to be Included in the International Greek New Testament Project's Edition of John in the *Editio Critica Maior*," in *Studies on the Text of the New Testament and Early Christianity* (ed. Daniel Gurtner, Juan Hernández, and Paul Foster; NTTSD 50; Leiden: Brill, 2015), 287–328.

<sup>22</sup> I limited my analysis to the Thessalonian epistles because they are already grouped together in *Text und Textwert* which helped facilitate the selection of the manuscripts. To include the data from more epistles would have required extensive calculation done by hand, which would likely have introduced error. At a later stage in this thesis, the INTF created an (unpublished) online application which enabled the instantaneous filtering of the *Teststellen* data for the Pauline epistles; regrettably, this resource was not available in time to be used in the manuscript selection phase of this thesis. Also, at a very late stage in this thesis, Hugh Houghton, one of the general editors for the ECM of the Pauline Epistles, kindly shared his forthcoming article outlining the selection of manuscripts for the Pauline Epistles. His team's selection of manuscripts uses the INTF's online application, mentioned above, and incorporates *Teststellen* data across the whole of the Pauline corpus. Even with these data, only twenty-three additional minuscules are included in their manuscript selection vis-à-vis the manuscripts included in this thesis. These minuscules are 5 69 181 326 467 623 1175 1319 1505 1611 1836 1837 1875 1877 1959 1963 1996 1999 2012 2110 2495 2659 2899 (see H. A. G. Houghton, "An Initial Selection of Manuscripts for the *Editio Critica Maior* of the Pauline Epistles," in *The New Testament in*

For the Thessalonian epistles, nine *Teststellen* were utilized in *Text und Textwert*.<sup>23</sup> When minuscules with 100% agreement with the Majority text are sifted out, 232 remain. If we then filter out those with greater than 87.5% agreement with the Majority text, the total is reduced to 111.<sup>24</sup> This is a reasonable number of minuscules to transcribe for the present project. Therefore, these minuscules, an extra minuscule,<sup>25</sup> and the two papyri and eighteen majuscules for 2 Thessalonians form the textual base for this thesis. Each of these manuscripts has been transcribed and proofread utilizing the online transcription editor available through the Institute for Textual Scholarship and Electronic Editing.<sup>26</sup> For the sake of comparison, I have also included five minuscules with 100% agreement with the Majority text.<sup>27</sup> Thus, the grand total of manuscripts transcribed comes to 137—the most to date for 2 Thessalonians.<sup>28</sup>

Though this number of manuscripts substantially increases the textual base for 2 Thessalonians, I hope it does not fully satisfy Biblical scholars and textual critics. We cannot

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*Antiquity and Byzantium. Traditional and Digital Approaches to its Texts and Editing* [ed. H. A. G. Houghton, David C. Parker, and Holger Strutwolf; NTTSD 52; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2019], 343–359).

<sup>23</sup> Five of the *Teststellen* are for 1 Thessalonians and four for 2 Thessalonians. I have used both Thessalonian epistles in this study in order to increase the sample size of *Teststellen*.

<sup>24</sup> In practice this means that the only manuscripts excluded from this thesis are those that either have 100% agreement with the Majority text or deviate from the Majority text only in one of the nine *Teststellen*. Manuscripts with fewer than nine *Teststellen* but with one deviation are included. I am excluding the additional MSS that have been added to the *Liste* since *Text und Textwert* was published.

<sup>25</sup> At an early stage in the thesis I had transcribed GA 630. Given that I had already created the transcription and since it is among NA28's "Consistently and Frequently Cited Witnesses" I decided to include it.

<sup>26</sup> For the transcription editor and other online tools created by ITSEE see <https://itsee-wce.birmingham.ac.uk>. For an overview of the Workspace for Collaborative Editing see Hugh Houghton, Martin Sievers, and Catherine Smith, "The Workspace for Collaborative Editing," *Digital Humanities 2014 Conference Abstracts, EPFL-UNIL, Lausanne, Switzerland, 8-12 July 2014*, 210-211; online: <http://dharchive.org/paper/DH2014/Paper-224.xml>.

<sup>27</sup> In this regard, I have only included minuscules that have 100% agreement across the *Teststellen* in Colossians, 1 and 2 Thessalonians, the Pastoral epistles, and Philemon. There are fifteen minuscules that meet this restriction. I have transcribed the five whose images are accessible online via the INTF's Virtual Manuscript Room website, namely, minuscules 35, 517, 999, 1354, and 1609. After selecting and transcribing these manuscripts, I received from the INTF a spreadsheet with the percentage of *Teststellen* agreement these manuscripts have with the majority text across all of the Pauline epistles. The results, respectively, are as follows: 98.01%, 97.11%, 97.2%, 96.34%, 97.21%

<sup>28</sup> Though compare n. 10 above.

lose sight of the ultimate goal—the transcription of all continuous-text Greek manuscripts. Incremental progress toward this goal is of course needed and the present thesis hopes to serve this purpose, but we must not allow such progress to stop us short of our final objective.<sup>29</sup>

### **The Original Text**

Since this thesis aims at the creation of a critical text, a note about the nature of the critical text I intend to reconstruct is worthwhile. Traditionally, New Testament Textual Criticism has had as its fundamental goal the identification and restoration of the “original text;” i.e., the putative text that the author originally wrote. In this approach, the critical text of an edition is intended to approximate the so-called “original text.” However, this traditional goal has come under sharp criticism recently as scholars have objected both to its feasibility and coherence.<sup>30</sup> Two publications over the last twenty years have been especially influential in this regard. One of these publications was a 1999 article, “The Multivalence of the Term ‘Original Text’ in New Testament Textual Criticism,” in which Eldon Epp argued that the term “original text” is semantically ambiguous. Epp suggested that for the New Testament it is often possible to distinguish between a “predecessor text-form,” an “autographic text-form,” a “canonical text-form,” and an “interpretive text-form;” for Epp, a case can be made that each of these are in a sense “original.”<sup>31</sup> David Parker has also discussed extensively the problems with the restoration of the “original text” as the goal of

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<sup>29</sup> I am of course here echoing Thomas Geer’s plea quoted in n. 3 above.

<sup>30</sup> Two early articles that provided stimulus for this discussion are Helmut Koester, “The Text of the Synoptic Gospels in the Second Century,” in *Gospel Traditions in the Second Century* (ed. W. L. Petersen; Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1989), 19–37 and William L. Petersen, “What Text Can New Testament Textual Criticism Ultimately Reach,” in *New Testament Textual Criticism, Exegesis, and Early Church History* (ed. B. Aland and J. Delobel; Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1994), 136–51.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Eldon J. Epp, “The Multivalence of the Term ‘Original Text’ in New Testament Textual Criticism,” *HTR* 92 (1999), 266–70; idem, “It’s All about the Variants,” 279–80. See also Michael Holmes’ criticism of Epp at this point (“From ‘Original Text’ to ‘Initial Text’: The Traditional Goal of New Testament Textual Criticism in Contemporary Discussion,” in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research* [ed. Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes; NTTSD 42; 2d ed.; Leiden: Brill, 2013], 646 n. 33, 648–51).

New Testament Textual Criticism. In his *The Living Text of the Gospels* (and subsequent articles),<sup>32</sup> Parker has suggested that the authors of the Gospels may not have intended their literary creations to remain completely in a fixed, original form and would have regarded as appropriate and normative some textual changes made by subsequent Christian communities, who equally would have been unalarmed by such changes.<sup>33</sup> Parker has also noted that, given the manuscript evidence available, “the best editors can hope to do is . . . recreate forms of text that were current in the period 200–300 CE.”<sup>34</sup> Thus, for Parker the restoration of the “original text” may be neither appropriate nor possible.<sup>35</sup>

The text-critical landscape has changed over the past few decades as a result of the efforts of Parker, Epp, and others: text-critics are less likely to speak of the “original text” without qualification.<sup>36</sup> The reigning perspective appears to be that of the ECM. The way the editors of the ECM approach this issue is to make a distinction between the “original” text (or “authorial text”) and what they call the *Ausgangstext* (or “initial text”).<sup>37</sup> The stated goal of the ECM is to identify the *Ausgangstext*—a reconstruction of the starting point (or “initial” point) for the extant textual tradition. The advantage of this distinction is that it acknowledges the possibility of textual development between the authorial text and the text

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<sup>32</sup> D. C. Parker, *The Living Text of the Gospels* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); idem, “Is ‘Living Text’ Compatible with ‘Initial Text’?” in *The Textual History of the Greek New Testament* (ed. Klaus Wachtel and Michael W. Holmes; Atlanta: SBL, 2011), 13–22; idem, “Textual Criticism and Theology,” *ExpTim* 118 (2007): 583–589; idem, *Textual Scholarship and the Making of the New Testament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 25–29.

<sup>33</sup> Parker, “Textual Criticism and Theology,” 585.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 586. For a discussion of these issues in regard to the Pauline epistles see Brent Nongbri, “Pauline Letter Manuscripts,” in *All Things to All Cultures: Paul among Jews, Greeks, and Romans* (ed. Mark Harding and Alanna Nobbs; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2013), 94–95.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Parker, “Textual Criticism and Theology,” 585. “Appropriate” and “possible” are Parker’s words.

<sup>36</sup> For a helpful summary of the discussion over the last twenty years see Holmes, “From ‘Original Text’ to ‘Initial Text,’” 637–688.

<sup>37</sup> For an overview of the origin of the term *Ausgangstext* and its own potential semantic ambiguity see Eldon J. Epp, “In the Beginning was the New Testament Text, but Which Text? A Consideration of ‘Ausgangstext’ and ‘Initial Text,’” in *Texts and Traditions: Essays in Honour of J. Keith Elliott* (ed. Peter Doble and Jeffrey Kloha; Leiden: Brill, 2014), 35–71.

that is reconstructed in the ECM. Thus, the editors do not assume that there is a one-to-one correspondence between the authorial text and the *Ausgangstext* and remain open to the possibility of editorial activity occurring between the two. Gerd Mink, in his seminal article, “Problems of a Highly Contaminated Tradition” offers a helpful summary:

The initial text is a hypothetical, reconstructed text, as it presumably existed, according to the hypothesis, before the beginning of its copying. . . . The initial text is not identical with the original, the text of the author. Between the autograph and the initial text, considerable changes may have taken place which may not have left a single trace in the surviving textual tradition.<sup>38</sup>

Despite this possibility of differences existing between the *Ausgangstext* and the authorial text, Mink nevertheless acknowledges that “the simplest working hypothesis must be that there are no differences between the original and the initial text (except for inevitable scribal slips).”<sup>39</sup> It is also important to point out, as Mink’s statement implies, that the *Ausgangstext* has a close relationship with the archetype—the hypothetical manuscript from which all other manuscripts from a particular tradition descended. However, the *Ausgangstext* can be distinguished from it, since, through conjectural emendation,<sup>40</sup> the *Ausgangstext* may actually include readings that predate the archetype.<sup>41</sup> Due to these distinctions, Michael Holmes defines the *Ausgangstext* as follows: “the reconstructed hypothetical form of a text from which all surviving witnesses descend, a state of a text’s history that stands between its

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<sup>38</sup> Gerd Mink, “Problems of a Highly Contaminated Tradition: The New Testament—Stemmata of Variants as a Source of a Genealogy for Witnesses,” in *Studies in Stemmata II* (ed. Pieter van Reenan, August den Hollander, and Margot van Mulken; Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2004), 25.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 26. Similarly, Holger Strutwolf says that “as long as we have no evidence that suggests a radical break in the textual transmission between the author’s text and the initial text of our tradition, the best hypothesis concerning the original text still remains the reconstructed archetype to which our manuscript tradition and the evidence of early translations and the citations point” (“Original Text and Textual History,” in *The Textual History of the Greek New Testament* [ed. Klaus Wachtel and Michael W. Holmes; Atlanta: SBL, 2011], 41). The validity of all modern historical scholarship—or at least historical scholarship that relies on authorial texts to make assertions—builds its evidential foundation on this assumption.

<sup>40</sup> For the use of conjectural emendation and the New Testament see Jan Krans, “Conjectural Emendation and the New Testament,” in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research* [ed. Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes; NTTSD 42; 2d ed.; Leiden: Brill, 2013], 613–36).

<sup>41</sup> Though see Gurry’s comments that the *Ausgangstext* must necessarily be the authorial text in cases of conjectural emendation (Peter J. Gurry, *A Critical Examination of the Coherence-Based Genealogical Method in New Testament Textual Criticism* [NTTSD 55; Leiden: Brill, 2017], 89–101).

literary formation, on the one hand, and the archetype of the extant manuscripts, on the other.”<sup>42</sup>

This reformulation of the aim of textual criticism to identify the *Ausgangstext* is obviously a slightly more modest (though no less difficult!) objective than the traditional attempt to identify the “original text.” I think it is also a rather cumbersome to describe and, compared with other approaches to textual criticism, peculiar to the field of New Testament Studies. Consequently, I prefer simply the “earliest attainable text” as a primary goal of any text-critical endeavor and the intention of any reconstructed critical text.<sup>43</sup> By “earliest attainable text,” I mean the text, which the evidence suggests, predates the others and is the source from which the alternate readings were derived.<sup>44</sup> To my mind, this formulation has several advantages. First, it articulates an important goal of New Testament Textual Criticism and of a critical edition not idiosyncratically but in a way that is immediately understandable and can serve as a common denominator for the text-critical study of any ancient literary work. Second and relatedly, inherent in its title, “earliest attainable text,” there is the clear absence of a claim as to which stage in the transmission process is achieved (authorial, editorial,<sup>45</sup> archetypal, etc.); it only claims that for the *variation unit in question* we have gone as far back as our methods allow. Of course, some may reply that there is no material difference between the “earliest attainable text” and the *Ausgangstext* since their definitions are similar and, in practice, attempting to identify either should produce the same critical text.

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<sup>42</sup> Holmes, “From ‘Original Text’ to ‘Initial Text,’” 653. However, see also Gurry’s critique of a similar definition of the initial text (Gurry, *A Critical Examination*, 89–101).

<sup>43</sup> My preference for the “earliest attainable text” has been influenced by Eldon Epp (cf. “It’s All about Variants,” 282–87, 294–98, 308).

<sup>44</sup> Theoretically, the “earliest attainable text” could be identified using conjectural emendation or only versional or patristic sources.

<sup>45</sup> I have not attempted to identify the “earliest attainable text” with a particular early collection of Paul’s letters. For an overview of the current theories and options for the early Pauline letter collections see Parker, *New Testament Manuscripts and Their Texts*, 249–256; 279–282.

However, I prefer the former to the latter given some of the confusion<sup>46</sup> in the secondary literature regarding the latter and the straightforwardness of what is being attempted with the former.

For all of the reasons above, I claim only to reconstruct the earliest attainable text in the critical edition that accompanies this thesis.<sup>47</sup> For each variation unit, I will attempt to identify the earliest form of the text available among the surviving documents and from which the other readings were most likely derived.<sup>48</sup> Of course, at times, it will not be possible to identify which reading is the earliest; on such occasions I will alert the reader to this predicament.<sup>49</sup> How then will I achieve this goal of identifying the earliest attainable text? Or, to say it another way: what text-critical method will I adopt in order to establish such a text? I turn now to discuss text-critical methods.

### Text-Critical Methods

Three methods (or theories) have been utilized in New Testament Textual Criticism in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries to establish the text: the Majority-Text (or Byzantine-

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<sup>46</sup> See Gurry's discussion of the confusion in the secondary literature related to the definition of the "Initial Text" (Gurry, *A Critical Examination*, 89–101). I also note that, at times, Mink *seems* to locate the "initial text" at a particular point in time, namely, the point at which a text was "published" or began to be disseminated. Note his comment in the definition quoted above that the initial text occurs "before the beginning of its copying." Also, in an interview with Yii-Jan Lin, Mink states that "We don't know which steps were between the authorial text and the text as published for the first time" (*The Erotic Life of Manuscripts: New Testament Textual Criticism and the Biological Sciences* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016], 183). Mink's intentions with these comments is unclear to me. I note also that the Alands, Mink's colleagues, appear to have defined as their goal of textual criticism "the text-form in which the NT writings were officially put into circulation" (cf. Eldon J. Epp, "In the Beginning was the New Testament Text, but Which Text?", 57).

<sup>47</sup> I agree with Mink's and Strutwolf's assertions on the previous page that, lacking sufficient evidence to think otherwise, the *Ausgangstext*, or in my case, the earliest attainable text, is most likely equivalent to the authorial text. Consequently, at times, I present intrinsic evidence based on the author's style to support a particular variant as the earliest. On the limitations of using intrinsic evidence depending the type of text one is trying to reconstruct see Gurry, *A Critical Examination*, 100–101.

<sup>48</sup> Consequently, the critical text represented in this edition will not be a text that actually existed in any manuscript from antiquity, but rather the "earliest attainable" form for each variation unit in question (cf. Epp, "It's All about Variants," 287). The "earliest attainable text" for each variation unit need not be from the same stage in the transmission process as the "earliest attainable text" in other variation units.

<sup>49</sup> "Where no positive solution avails, the critic must admit that the problem cannot be plausibly solved, and should have a way to accommodate the analytical impasse. Admitting defeat is a necessary part of the game" (Hendel, "The Epistemology of Textual Criticism," 263).



Text) method, Thoroughgoing Eclecticism, and Reasoned Eclecticism.<sup>50</sup> In this section, I offer a brief overview of and response to the first two of these approaches followed by a description of the method I adopt, namely, Reasoned Eclecticism. I have not attempted to provide a full description nor, in the case of the former two, a full refutation of these methods, though I have referenced the most relevant bibliographic items in the footnotes, which deal with these issues in more depth.

### **The Majority-Text Method**

The Majority-Text method claims that the text extant in the majority of witnesses is more likely to be the earliest and, given that the majority of extant manuscripts are Byzantine, the earliest text must have been the Byzantine text. This line of reasoning assumes what its advocates describe as a ‘normal’ state of transmission. In their own words:

From a transmissional standpoint, a single Textform would be expected to predominate among the vast majority of manuscripts in the absence of radical and well-documented upheavals in the manuscript tradition. This ‘normal’ state of transmission presumes that the aggregate consentient testimony of the extant manuscript base is more likely to reflect its archetypal source (in this case the canonical autographs) than any single manuscript, small group of manuscripts, or isolated versional or patristic readings that failed to achieve widespread diversity or transmissional continuity.<sup>51</sup>

In any tradition where there are not major disruptions in the transmissional history, the individual reading which has the earliest beginning is the one most likely to survive in a majority of documents. And the earliest reading of all is the original one.<sup>52</sup>

The underlying logic of these statements appears to be that manuscripts or “textforms” are typically copied at roughly the same rate across time and that many genealogical independent branches going back to the archetype will have survived among the majority of extant

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<sup>50</sup> These are the three methods included in David Alan Black, ed., *Rethinking New Testament Textual Criticism* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2002). Discussions of or polemics against each of these methods can also be found in Ehrman and Holmes, *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research* and Carlson, *The Text of Galatians and Its History*, 18–43. I have found the discussions in Black and Carlson especially helpful.

<sup>51</sup> Maurice A. Robinson and William G. Pierpont, *The New Testament in the Original Greek: Byzantine Textform* (Southborough: Chilton Book Publishing, 2005), v.

<sup>52</sup> Hodges and Farstad, *Greek New Testament*, xxii. Carlson’s monograph alerted me to this quote (*The Text of Galatians and Its History*, 24)

manuscripts.<sup>53</sup> Ergo, the reading with the most manuscript support must be the earliest given that the longer a reading or ‘Textform’ has been in existence, the more textual (and genealogical-independent) support it should have under these so-called ‘normal’ conditions. To my knowledge, Majority-Text advocates have not demonstrated that these ‘normal’ conditions have in fact been operative in the majority or even in a significant number of textual traditions from Classical antiquity.<sup>54</sup> The absence of this support makes it unclear just how normal so-called ‘normal’ conditions were. Relatedly, this perspective seems somewhat idealist and perhaps ignores the potential vagaries of history. Is it really that ‘radical’ to imagine that certain readings or textual traditions became less popular or died out while other traditions (even if they were later) expanded and became widespread? In fact, this is what our extant evidence suggests as it relates to the Byzantine text. The Byzantine text does not dominate the textual tradition until after the transition to minuscule script in the ninth – tenth centuries.<sup>55</sup> Additionally, “there is simply no solid evidence that the Byzantine text type existed prior to the fourth century.”<sup>56</sup> And the formation of the Byzantine text itself appears

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<sup>53</sup> If manuscripts or “textforms” are not produced at the same rate across time then the majority could reflect a branch with aberrant readings, which was simply produced at a faster rate than other branches. If the majority of readings does not include multiple genealogically independent branches then the majority could represent a branch (with aberrant readings) which survived while others did not. Thus, both the *survival* of independent branches and an *even rate of production* of those branches appear to be necessary presuppositions for the Majority-Text method.

<sup>54</sup> Robinson briefly examines the textual traditions of Homer and Hippocrates in his defense of Majority-Text theory (cf. “Appendix: The Case for Byzantine Priority,” in *The Text in the Original Greek: Byzantine Textform*, 542–544).

<sup>55</sup> In the words of Aland and Wachtel: “the Koine text in the standardized form typical of the second millennium came to dominate the tradition only after the New Testament began to be transmitted in the minuscule script” (“The Greek Minuscules of the New Testament,” in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research* [ed. Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes; NTTSD 42; 2d ed.; Leiden: Brill, 2013], 71). See also the section of this thesis entitled “2 Thessalonians and the Byzantine Text” in Chapter 4 (“A Textual History of 2 Thessalonians”).

<sup>56</sup> Daniel B. Wallace, “Majority Text Theory: History, Methods, and Critique,” in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research* (ed. Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes; NTTSD 42; 2d ed.; Leiden: Brill, 2013), 734.

to have been the result of a process.<sup>57</sup> Thus, (1) the normality of so-called ‘normal’ transmission has not yet been demonstrated across a significant number of other textual traditions, (2) the extant evidence cannot validate the existence of a Byzantine text prior to the fourth century, and (3) the available evidence indicates that the Byzantine text was not fully formed and did not become the majority until the ninth century or later. None of these data support the assumptions of Majority-Text advocates outlined above.

It should be noted that modern Majority-Text followers do advocate the use of the traditional canons of textual criticism.<sup>58</sup> However, these methods are secondary to their commitment to the “transmissional evidence” (= following the majority reading). In practice, the traditional canons are only utilized when the Byzantine text is split or to demonstrate “how one *could* explain the variants that deviate from the Byzantine text.”<sup>59</sup>

To close this brief discussion of the Majority Text method, I would like to point out that the later dominance and evolution of the Byzantine text has a notable parallel in liturgical studies, where local rites used by churches in antiquity gradually underwent a process of ‘Byzantinization.’ Robert Taft describes this phenomenon:

At the beginning of the fifth century evidence from Greece, Cappadocia, and Pontos, shows that the Churches in these Greek-speaking Orthodox regions, even if under the political domination of the capital, did not use the Constantinopolitan rite. . . . by the end of the first millennium it [the Constantinopolitan rite] had taken over the whole patriarchate of Constantinople and spread to the Orthodox monasteries of Antiochia, Palestine, and Sinai, . . . In the first centuries of the second millennium, the liturgical

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<sup>57</sup> The best and most recent overview of this process can be found in Gregory R. Lanier, “Taking Inventory on the ‘Age of the Minuscules’: Later Manuscripts and the Byzantine Tradition within the Field of Textual Criticism,” *CBR* 16 (2018): 263–308. See also the section of this thesis entitled “2 Thessalonians and the Byzantine Text” in Chapter 4 (“A Textual History of 2 Thessalonians”).

<sup>58</sup> Cf. Maurice A. Robinson, “The Case for Byzantine Priority,” in *Rethinking New Testament Textual Criticism* (ed. David Alan Black; Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2002), 125–140.

<sup>59</sup> Jongkind, *An Introduction to the Greek New Testament Produced at Tyndale House, Cambridge* (Wheaton: Crossway, 2019), 97 (italics mine). The most robust defense of the Majority-Text method is that of Robinson in his “Appendix: The Case for Byzantine Priority,” in *The Text in the Original Greek: Byzantine Textform*, 532–586. The strongest of critiques are those of Wallace and Fee (Wallace, “Majority Text Theory: History, Methods, and Critique,” 711–744; Gordon D. Fee, “The Majority Text and the Original Text of the New Testament,” in *Studies in the Theory and Method of New Testament Textual Criticism* [ed. Eldon Jay Epp and Gordon D. Fee; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993], 183–208).

Byzantinization of the Orthodox patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem . . . proceeds apace . . . By the end of the thirteenth century the process was more or less complete in Alexandria and Antioch.<sup>60</sup>

Daniel Galadza has described ‘liturgical Byzantinization’ as “the process of making liturgical practices conformable to those of the Great Church of Constantinople, at the expense and to the detriment of local . . . liturgical practices.”<sup>61</sup> Thus, in the history of the liturgy, a Byzantine form gradually comes to dominate. Furthermore, this Byzantine form was itself the result of a process. Galadza also states that “‘the Byzantine Rite is a mongrel.’ Like in the Roman rite and, indeed, in most great cultural traditions, the synthesis of various liturgical elements from the Eastern Mediterranean led to the birth of something new.”<sup>62</sup> Now, I do not want to make too much of these parallels between the Byzantine liturgy and the Byzantine text,<sup>63</sup> but it is striking that the evidence suggests that both gradually came to dominate and that the formation of both was the result of a gradual process—and during broadly the same timeframe. Could there be an interaction or relationship of some sort between these two phenomena? An in-depth comparison would be outside the scope of this thesis but would certainly be a worthwhile question and one that I would recommend for further investigation.

### **Thoroughgoing Eclecticism**

Stephen Carlson has defined eclecticism as “a method for constructing a critical text by examining the witnesses at each individual variation unit and selecting the reading for the critical text based on the textual evidence at that individual variation unit.”<sup>64</sup> The reason a variant-by-variant approach is needed for the New Testament is because its textual tradition

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<sup>60</sup> Robert Taft, “Liturgy,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies* (ed. Elizabeth Jeffries with John Haldon and Robin Cormack; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 607–608.

<sup>61</sup> Daniel Galadza, *Liturgy and Byzantinization in Jerusalem* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 5.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>63</sup> Also, “Byzantine” need not have the same exact meaning in “Byzantine Liturgy” and “Byzantine Text.”

<sup>64</sup> Carlson, *The Text of Galatians and Its History*, 34.

is what Michael Holmes has described as “open” (or “mixed”). In a “closed” (or “pure”) textual tradition, a stemma demonstrating the relationships between the manuscripts can be more or less accurately depicted enabling the text critic to identify which manuscripts are clearly descendants of other manuscripts. Younger manuscripts, which are genealogically derivative, can be discarded in favor of their extant ancestor. For instance, for orations 3–31 in the corpus of Lysias, it has been demonstrated that all of the extant medieval manuscripts are descendants of Palatinus Graecus 88.<sup>65</sup> Therefore, they do not provide any independent evidence for the text of Lysias and do not need to be consulted when constructing his critical text. To quote the Classicist Paul Maas, “the stemma settles the relationship of witnesses for every passage in the text—if we have a pure tradition. No cure has yet been discovered against contamination.”<sup>66</sup> In the case of the New Testament, however, we are indeed confronted with contamination (an ‘open tradition’ in Holmes’ nomenclature) in which no clear stemma can be discerned among the manuscripts. In fact, the genealogical branches of the New Testament have cross-pollinated to such an extent that readings from different textual groups are spread across the whole tradition.<sup>67</sup>

In the absence of a clearly detectable stemma, the New Testament textual critic’s only recourse is to eclecticism since so many manuscripts cannot simply be eliminated based on genealogical relationships and, theoretically, nearly any textual source could attest the earliest reading.<sup>68</sup> Thus, confronted with such complex conditions, the text critic must bring

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<sup>65</sup> S. C. Todd, *A Commentary on the Speeches of Lysias 1–11* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 19.

<sup>66</sup> As quoted by Michael W. Holmes in “Working with an Open Textual Tradition: Challenges in Theory and Practice,” in *The Textual History of the Greek of the New Testament: Changing Views in Contemporary Research* (ed. Klaus Wachtel and Michael Holmes; SBL Text-Critical Studies 8; Atlanta: SBL Press, 2011), 65.

<sup>67</sup> Holmes states “As Zuntz reminds us, the New Testament is ‘beside Homer, the paramount example’ of an ‘open’ or ‘mixed’ tradition. Indeed, it is a tradition in which all surviving manuscripts and textual traditions appear to exhibit both the presence and effects of mixture” (Michael W. Holmes, “Reasoned Eclecticism in New Testament Textual Criticism,” in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research* [ed. Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes; NTTSD 42; 2d ed.; Leiden: Brill, 2013], 782–783).

<sup>68</sup> Cf. *ibid.*

every piece (hence “eclecticism”) of evidence available to bear on each individual variation unit. This includes both internal evidence (transcriptional and intrinsic probabilities) and external evidence (quality, age, and genealogical and geographical distribution of the textual sources). Rather than lamenting this methodological state of affairs, Holmes recognizes the formation and use of the eclectic method as one of the major achievements of Biblical textual scholarship in the last century: “the adaptation of the classical methods of textual criticism to deal with the realities of a mixed textual tradition represents a primary methodological achievement of twentieth-century New Testament textual criticism.”<sup>69</sup> Indeed, perhaps New Testament textual critics have identified the only available “cure” for the contamination of which Maas laments.

Against this backdrop, Thoroughgoing Eclecticism can be discussed. The method has been defended most thoroughly and most often in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries by G. D. Kilpatrick and his student J. Keith Elliott.<sup>70</sup> Thoroughgoing eclectics adopt the variant-by-variant approach described above but advocate that only internal evidence should be utilized in textual decisions. This argument is based on the assumption, allegedly put forth by Vogels and often mentioned by Kilpatrick, that “apart from errors, the great majority of variants in the New Testament text have come into being before A.D. 200.”<sup>71</sup> If this is the case, as Elliott reasons, then “the date of the source for a given reading, be it a fourth-, seventh-, or eleventh-century manuscript, does not matter, because one may be convinced that the reading goes back beyond the year 200 and therefore into a period from which

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<sup>69</sup> Ibid., 783.

<sup>70</sup> Both have produced a voluminous amount of scholarship and have helped advance the field. Their research is most accessible in the following volumes: (1) G. D. Kilpatrick, *The Principles and Practice of New Testament Textual Criticism: Collected Essays of G. D. Kilpatrick* (ed. J. K. Elliott; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1990); (2) J. K. Elliott, *New Testament Textual Criticism: The Application of Thoroughgoing Principles: Essays on Manuscripts and Textual Variation* (NovTSup 37; Leiden: Brill, 2010).

<sup>71</sup> As quoted by Fee, “Rigorous or Reasoned Eclecticism,” in *Studies in the Theory and Method of New Testament Textual Criticism* (ed. Eldon Jay Epp and Gordon D. Fee; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 126.

virtually no manuscripts survive. Thus external evidence as such is of little relevance.”<sup>72</sup>

Thoroughgoing eclectics criticize other eclectics, who incorporate external evidence, as promoting, at times, a “cult of the best manuscripts.”<sup>73</sup> This criticism, of course, may be well-founded in cases where scholars have slavishly followed certain manuscripts.

I have multiple objections to Thoroughgoing Eclecticism. First, its most important premise lacks *catalogued* support. Kilpatrick cites Vogels to support the claim that “apart from errors, the great majority of variants in the New Testament text have come into being before A.D. 200.”<sup>74</sup> Yet, this premise stands on a brief comment made by Vogels in the “Fehlerquellen” section of his *Handbuch der Textkritik des Neuen Testaments*.<sup>75</sup> Given the importance of this premise for Thoroughgoing Eclecticism, a thorough analysis of the textual tradition which actually *quantified* this claim would be preferred (versus merely citing a perhaps passing comment made by Vogels) since it would provide an idea of the percentage of variants that can really be shown to predate A.D. 200. To my knowledge, such data does not exist. Moreover, Vogels appears to be discussing only “bewußte Korrektur;” in his very next sentence he states “Dagegen finden sich Schreibversehen natürlich, solange man den

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<sup>72</sup> J. Keith Elliott, “Thoroughgoing Eclecticism in New Testament Textual Criticism,” in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research* (ed. Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes; NTTSD 42; 2d. ed.; Leiden: Brill, 2013), 761.

<sup>73</sup> J. K. Elliott, “The Case for Thoroughgoing Eclecticism,” in *Rethinking New Testament Textual Criticism* (ed. David Alan Black; Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2002), 108.

<sup>74</sup> As quoted by Fee, “Rigorous or Reasoned Eclecticism,” 126.

<sup>75</sup> Here is the entire paragraph from Vogels to which Kilpatrick refers: “Bevor wir damit beginnen, die wichtigsten Regeln für die Textkritik und ihre Handhabung zu erläutern, wird es sich empfehlen, einiges über die Fehlerquellen voranzuschicken. Bei den Varianten hat man zu unterscheiden zwischen unabsichtlichen Fehlern, wie sie bei handschriftlicher Vervielfältigung eines Textes unvermeidlich sind, und bewußten Korrekturen, das heißt Lesarten, die nicht durch den Irrtum eines Schreibers veranlaßt sein können, sondern auf Überlegung und Absicht beruhen müssen. Die Unterscheidung zwischen beiden Arten mag mitunter wohl einmal schwierig sein; meistens ist sie es nicht, und immer ist sie wichtig. Die Zahl der Lesarten, die wir nur als bewußte Korrekturen betrachten können, ist erheblich größer wie jene, die lediglich Schreibversehen darstellen. Alle bewußte Korrektur ist alt. Nichts von derartigen geht, soweit ich sehe, über das 4. Jahrhundert hinaus, und das weitaus meiste, wenn nicht geradezu alles, wird ins 2. Jahrhundert hinabreichen. Dagegen finden sich Schreibversehen natürlich, solange man den Text abschrieb. Doch gibt es auch hier eine Anzahl ehrwürdig alter, weitverbreiteter Fehler, die im folgenden besondere Berücksichtigung finden sollen” (H. J. Vogels, *Handbuch der Textkritik des Neuen Testaments* [Bonn: Peter Hanstein Verlag G.M.B.H., 1955], 162).

Text abschrieb.” What portion of extant variants would Thoroughgoing eclectics categorize as “bewußte Korrektur” as opposed to “Schreibversehen”? If a significant number of widespread variants were due to the latter, this would seem to be problematic for a Thoroughgoing approach.

But even if we grant this claim about the date of the great majority of intentional variation in the New Testament, it still does not dispense with external criticism. To support this statement, I quote Fee, who has provided perhaps the strongest critique of Thoroughgoing Eclecticism:

For it is both illogical and unhistorical to imply, as both Kilpatrick and Elliott do, that because no MSS have escaped corruption, therefore all MSS are equally corrupt, and no MS(S) may be judged better than others. In fact, the very internal considerations for which Kilpatrick and Elliott argue as a basis for the recovery of the original text, Hort used *first* for the evaluation of the existing witnesses. And if his evaluation of B as ‘neutral’ was too high a regard for the MS, it does not alter his judgement that compared to all other MSS B *is* a superior witness.<sup>76</sup> (italics his)

In other words, the internal evidence used by Thoroughgoing eclectics to justify certain readings can also be used to justify the superiority of specific manuscripts, which attest a significant number of superior readings and whose superiority should naturally be considered in subsequent textual decisions. Elliott actually conceded this point in a recent defense of the method. In one of his more recent articulations of the theory, Elliott acknowledges that certain manuscripts could theoretically be more valuable than others. In his own words:

What I am conceding is that by examining without prejudice the readings in all manuscripts we may at a later stage reach decisions about the relative worthiness of particular witnesses to support, perhaps even singly, the original text. To be really thorough I suggest we do our textual criticism eclectically without bowing to preconceived theories about the alleged superiority of certain witnesses. Then, having done our work, I suggest that we review the behavior of individual witnesses—in effect, rate them. Those that fall below a certain level of accuracy would in the future be regarded with some suspicion. Thoroughgoing eclecticism may in fact be a better way of ultimately enabling scholars to make certain deductions about the reliability (or nonreliability) of witnesses<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> Fee, “Rigorous or Reasoned Eclecticism,” 127.

<sup>77</sup> Elliott, “The Case for Thoroughgoing Eclecticism,” 123.



But has not this rating of manuscripts already taken place in large part?<sup>78</sup> The relative superiority of many of the manuscripts thought to be the best has been demonstrated—at least for Acts and the Catholic Epistles—via the pregenealogical data released in conjunction with the ECM volumes. And so many of the usual (and often oldest) manuscripts (01 02 03 04 81 1739) rank high in pregenealogical coherence (= agreement) with the hypothetical *Ausgangstext*. Of course, one could put forth the criticism that the ECM editors’ preconceived notions of the superiority of these documents affected their decisions which, in turn, resulted the justification of the documents they already held to be the best at the outset. But, to my mind, the burden should be on such a critic to demonstrate that a Thoroughgoing approach would invalidate these results and produce a substantially different set of pregenealogical data. It is also worth noting that the editors of the ECM are keen to recognize the value of the Byzantine Text and have in fact preferred several Byzantine readings previously thought to be secondary. Thus, these pregenealogical data occur in a context that would seem to be less devoted to the “cult of the best manuscript.”

In summary, I find the key premise of Thoroughgoing Eclecticism without catalogued or quantified support, but, even it were true, to be an insufficient reason to jettison external criticism.

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<sup>78</sup> Along these lines, see also Epp’s comments: “Manuscripts (and also versions and patristic citations) have been assigned various values in accordance with their consistency in supporting early or ‘reliable’ readings, and some have emerged as ‘better’ or ‘best’ witnesses. Over time, certain of these textual clusters came to be identified (in the same manner as individual witnesses) as more likely than others to preserve earlier or ‘better’ readings” (Epp, “Traditional ‘Canons,’ of New Testament Textual Criticism: Their Value, Validity, and Viability—or lack thereof, ” in *The Textual History of the Greek New Testament: Changing Views in Contemporary Research* [Society of Biblical Literature Text-Critical Studies 8; ed. Klaus Wachtel and Michael W. Holmes; Atlanta: SBL, 2011], 88).

## Reasoned Eclecticism

I now turn to discuss Reasoned Eclecticism, the method of “nearly all contemporary textual critics.”<sup>79</sup> Some of the reasons for my preference for this methodological approach should already be clear from the discussion of Thoroughgoing Eclecticism above: the “open” or “mixed” nature of the textual tradition of the New Testament, I think, makes a variant-by-variant approach necessary and I am unconvinced by the reasons of the advocates of Thoroughgoing Eclecticism for ignoring external criticism. This leaves a variant-by-variant approach, which avails itself of both internal and external evidence, as the only viable alternative.

Reasoned Eclecticism begins with what Eldon Epp has called the “preeminent” or “super” criterion,<sup>80</sup> namely, that “the variant most likely to be original is the one that best accounts for the origin of all competing variants in terms of both external and internal evidence.”<sup>81</sup> The idea here is essentially the application of stemmatics to each variation unit. Kurt and Barbara Aland have called this the “local-genealogical method.”<sup>82</sup> Rather than creating a stemma depicting the relationship between the manuscripts (the genealogical method), the text-critic—using both external and internal evidence—creates a stemma of the relationships between the readings at the variation-unit (or “local”) level. When the text-critic has been able, with a high degree of confidence, to recreate a local stemma, he or she should also have a high degree of confidence that the reconstructed text is the earliest attainable. Of course, at times, multiple stemma reconstructions are possible and evidence supporting different readings can conflict. In these situations, Reasoned Eclecticism calls for a balancing

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<sup>79</sup> Holmes, “Reasoned Eclecticism in New Testament Textual Criticism,” 771.

<sup>80</sup> Epp, “Traditional ‘Canons,’” 92–96.

<sup>81</sup> I prefer Holmes’ definition of this principle, which has been quoted above (“The Case for Reasoned Eclecticism,” in *Rethinking New Testament Textual Criticism* [ed. David Alan Black; Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2002], 79). In a later publication Holmes changes “original” to “initial text” (“Reasoned Eclecticism in New Testament Textual Criticism,” 771)

<sup>82</sup> Aland and Aland, *The Text of the New Testament*, 34–35.

or a weighing of the manifold evidence.<sup>83</sup> The external and internal evidence will look different at each variation unit and the text critic must judiciously decide which evidence is most relevant depending on the textual situation.<sup>84</sup> Several helpful articles have been written recently which lay out the “criteria” or “canons” (whether of internal or external evidence) that text critics use to evaluate and decide between readings. Though I will not review all of them here in detail, I have reproduced below the titles of the “canons” given by Epp in his recent overview.<sup>85</sup>

- A. The Preeminent Criterion/Probability: Local Genealogical Priority
  - a. The variant is able to account for the origin, development, or presence of all other readings in its variation-unit.
- B. Criteria/Probabilities related to External Evidence
  - a. A variant supported by the earliest manuscripts, patristic citations, or versions, or by manuscripts (or other witnesses) assuredly preserving early texts.
  - b. A variant’s support by the ‘best quality’ manuscripts (or other witnesses).
  - c. A variant supported by manuscripts (or other witnesses) with wide geographical distribution.
  - d. A variant supported by one or more established groups of manuscripts (or other witnesses) of recognized antiquity, character, and perhaps location, i.e., of recognized ‘best quality.’
  - e. A variant with multiple attestation, that is, support by two or more of the preceding or following criteria.
- C. Criteria/Probabilities related to Internal Evidence
  - a. A variant that is the harder/hardest reading in its variation-unit.
  - b. A variant—depending on circumstances—that is the shorter/shortest reading or that is the longer/longest reading in its variation-unit.
  - c. A variant that conforms to the author’s recognizable style and vocabulary.
  - d. A variant that conforms to the author’s recognized theology or ideology.

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<sup>83</sup> Cf. Tommy Wasserman, “Criteria for Evaluating Readings in New Testament Textual Criticism,” in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research* (ed. Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes; NTTSD 42; 2d ed.; Leiden: Brill, 2013), 579–580; Michael W. Holmes, “Reconstructing the Text of the New Testament,” in *The Blackwell Companion to the New Testament* (ed. David E. Aune; Oxford: Blackwell, 2010), 82–85.

<sup>84</sup> Hendel notes that textual criticism, like diagnostic medicine or forensics, is an “evidential discipline.” He states that “like a good detective or diagnostician, the textual critic must be able to assess the situation, assemble relevant evidence, imagining possible causes, and distinguish degrees of probability.” He also notes that textual criticism deals with “individual cases” not “general laws.” In other words, each textual problem must be dealt with in all its uniqueness and the text-critic must have the finesse to know what evidence is most relevant given the textual problems confronting him or her. I regard Hendel’s article as essential reading for all textual scholars (Hendel, “The Epistemology of Textual Criticism,” 251). See also A. E. Housman, “The Application of Thought to Textual Criticism,” *PCA* 18 (1922), 67–84. For the quintessential example of this approach to textual criticism see Günther Zuntz, *The Text of the Epistles: A Disquisition upon the Corpus Paulinum* (The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy, 1946; London: Oxford University Press, 1953).

<sup>85</sup> Epp, “Traditional ‘Canons’ of New Testament Textual Criticism,” 79–127.

- e. A variant that conforms to Semitic forms of expression.
- f. A variant—depending on circumstance—that conforms to Koine (rather than Attic) Greek, or vice versa.
- g. A variant that does not conform to parallel passages or to extraneous items in the context generally.
- h. A variant that does not conform to Old Testament passages.
- i. A variant that does not conform to liturgical forms and usages.
- j. A variant that does not conform to extrinsic theological, ideological, or other socio-historical contexts contemporary with and congenial to a text's scribe.

Epp's formal outline does not reflect this distinction, but I note that items c, d, and e under "Internal Evidence" fall under the traditional category of "Intrinsic Probability" while the remaining items in that section fall under "Transcriptional Probabilities." Also, item e ("Semitic forms of expression") is not relevant for every genre of writing in the New Testament. Finally, none of the criteria can be followed mechanically. Epp's article provides several helpful qualifiers for the criteria that must be taken into the consideration.

So, advocates of Reasoned Eclecticism utilize all of the criteria above prioritizing item A in the outline and balancing the probabilities of the various criteria depending on the text-critical problem under discussion. This method, I think, is the only one available given the state of the textual tradition of the New Testament described above. Therefore, it is the method I have adopted to establish the earliest attainable text for 2 Thessalonians, which is represented in the critical text presented in this thesis. And in the textual commentary included in this thesis, I have utilized Reasoned Eclecticism and the relevant text-critical criteria, depending on the variation-unit in question.

Having laid out my method for establishing the critical text, I would like to make a few additional comments regarding my application of Reasoned Eclecticism. First, we obviously should not reject Byzantine readings simply because they are Byzantine. Though many Byzantine readings are secondary, the "open" nature of the New Testament textual tradition means that early readings can be found among Byzantine manuscripts even when these

readings are not attested by the earliest and “best” manuscripts.<sup>86</sup> I have kept this in mind when approaching text-critical decisions. Second, when possible, I have tried to pay attention to tendencies of particular manuscripts, especially the more famous majuscles since they are often considered among the best manuscripts.<sup>87</sup> Third, for good reasons, the length of a reading has fallen out of favor as a “canon” of textual criticism.<sup>88</sup> Therefore, in my commentary, I will not appeal to length, whether shorter or longer, to justify one reading over another. Finally, I should note that I have not utilized the Coherence-Based Genealogical Method (CBGM) and, therefore, do not have access to the evidence it may have yielded for textual decisions.<sup>89</sup> This is the approach pioneered at the INTF and used by the editors of the ECM.<sup>90</sup> It should not so much be considered a separate text-critical method but rather a way of using computer technology to generate additional data to make text-critical decisions. In this sense, it is compatible with the Reasoned Eclecticism in that it offers more evidence to

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<sup>86</sup> See my more extensive comments on the Byzantine Text in the section entitled “The Byzantine Text” in “Chapter 4: A Textual History of 2 Thessalonians.”

<sup>87</sup> This approach is always limited or enhanced by critic’s knowledge of the documents, the present author being no exception. On the importance of manuscript tendencies see THGNT, 507.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. Jeff Miller, “Breaking the Rules: *Lectio Brevior Potior* and New Testament Textual Criticism,” *BT* 70 (2019), 82–93; Alan Taylor Farnes, *Simply Come Copying: Direct Copies as Test Cases in the Quest for Scribal Habits* (WUNT 2:481; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2019), 202–203; Peter Malik, *P. Beatty III (P47): The Codex, Its Scribe, and Its Text* (NTTSD 52; Leiden: Brill, 2017), 114–115; Elijah Hixson, *Scribal Habits in Sixth-Century Greek Purple Codices* (NTTSD 61; Leiden: Brill, 2019).

<sup>89</sup> I had originally intended to use the CBGM; however, the technology was not ready at the genealogical analysis phase of this thesis to be incorporated effectively. For an accessible introduction to the CBGM see Peter J. Gurry and Tommy Wasserman, *A New Approach to Textual Criticism: An Introduction to the Coherence-Based Genealogical Method* (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2017). The “Further Reading” section at the back of the volume provides an annotated bibliography to the essential works on the CBGM. See also volume 20 (2015) of *TC: A Journal of Biblical Criticism*, which has several very helpful articles discussing the CBGM.

<sup>90</sup> I regard the CBGM as an innovative and elegant solution to the problem of contamination. Part of its genius lies in its ability to use the overall agreement between manuscripts, which has traditionally been viewed as having “no probative value for genealogical inference,” to reconstruct how the extant texts are related to one another (Hendel, “The Epistemology of Textual Criticism,” 255). Contamination rendered the New Testament textual tradition unsuitable for stemmatological analysis, but the CBGM has made this possible (though for texts rather than manuscripts). Indeed, common errors enables the creation of stemma for manuscripts when contamination is not present while coherence (both pregenealogical and genealogical) enables the creation of a stemma for texts in the case of contamination. Of course, the CBGM is still, in a sense, undergoing peer-review as scholars outside of Münster grow in their understanding and use of it. Finally, although the CBGM produces additional data for the text critic, it does not solve every text-critical problem and does not remove the need for the “application of thought” to text-critical problems.

be taken into account and weighed. Among the important data it offers is its ability to identify which readings are more likely to have arisen multiple times in the textual tradition.<sup>91</sup> These readings are inherently less likely to be the earliest.

### **The Authorship of 2 Thessalonians**

The Pauline authorship of 2 Thessalonians was doubted as early as 1801 by J. E. C. Schmidt.<sup>92</sup> Other notable scholars that have doubted its authenticity include Wrede and Trilling.<sup>93</sup> The latter's 1972 monograph, *Untersuchungen zum zweiten Thessalonicherbriefe*, seems to have prompted an increase in the number of scholars hesitant about Pauline authorship.<sup>94</sup> Nevertheless, Malherbe and Fee both state that the majority of scholars still hold to its authenticity.<sup>95</sup> These claims are supported by the research of Foster, who conducted a survey of scholars at the 2011 British New Testament Conference.<sup>96</sup> Fifty-seven percent of participants indicated that they held to Pauline authorship of the epistle; twelve percent believed it was not written by Paul; thirty-two percent were uncertain.<sup>97</sup> Not counting the *Hauptbriefe*, 2 Thessalonians had the highest number of scholars in support of Pauline

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<sup>91</sup> Cf. Gurry and Wasserman, *A New Approach to Textual Criticism*, 59–93.

<sup>92</sup> J. E. C. Schmidt, *Vermutungen über die beiden Briefe an die Thessalonicher* (vol. 2 of *Bibliothek für Kritik und Exegese des Neuen Testaments und älteste Christengeschichte*; Hadamar: Gelehrtenbuchhandlung, 1801), 380–386. For a helpful overview of the arguments and a brief history of scholarship on this topic see Edgar M. Krentz, “Thessalonians, First and Second Epistles to the,” *ABD* 6:515–522.

<sup>93</sup> William Wrede, *Die Echtheit des zweiten Thessalonicherbrief untersucht* (Leipzig: Henrichs, 1903); Wolfgang Trilling, *Untersuchungen zum zweiten Thessalonicherbrief* (Leipzig: St. Benno, 1972).

<sup>94</sup> Cf. Charles A. Wanamaker, *The Epistles to the Thessalonians: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990), 21.

<sup>95</sup> Abraham J. Malherbe, *The Letters to the Thessalonians* (AB; New Haven: Yale, 2000), 364–365; Gordon D. Fee *The First and Second Letters to the Thessalonians* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 234. Fee's assertion is actually a bit more limited: he notes that only one commentary has been written in English over the last century and a half that argues for non-Pauline authorship.

<sup>96</sup> Of course, as Foster clearly acknowledges, the survey was not administered according to scientific standards. Obviously, it was also restricted only to attendees of this particular conference.

<sup>97</sup> Foster, “Who Wrote 2 Thessalonians? A Fresh Look at an Old Problem,” *JSNT* 35 (2012): 170–171. These figures add up to 101 due to rounding.

authorship. Of course, the popularity of a viewpoint does not validate it, but these data do help demonstrate the current state of the debate.

The reasons put forth in the secondary literature against Pauline authorship include (1) non-Pauline stylistic and linguistic features, (2) contradictory theological claims vis-à-vis 1 Thessalonians (especially eschatological assertions), (3) clear literary dependence on 1 Thessalonians, and (4) “lack of personal warmth” vis-à-vis 1 Thessalonians. I think each of these (and other) objections have been adequately addressed in some of the more recent technical commentaries.<sup>98</sup> The recent article by Foster is also very effective in defending Pauline authorship. Foster’s summary is worth quoting at length:

The case for the Pauline authorship of 2 Thessalonians appears strong. However, ‘authorship’ must be conceived of as broadly as it is in the case for the seven epistles widely regarded as genuine. Traditional arguments against Pauline authorship appear to have little analytic value. Paul’s change in eschatological outlook between the two epistles says more about his pedagogical and pastoral approach. The supposed synoptic parallels between the two letters do not reveal direct literary dependence, especially once the fairly standardized opening and final greeting are removed from consideration. The stylistic deviation between 2 Thessalonians and the seven accepted Pauline letters when measured using a variety of statistical methods shows that 2 Thessalonians frequently is not as distant in stylistic terms from Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians and Galatians as is 1 Thessalonians. Finally, it is difficult to explain the letter signature except on the grounds that it is a genuine Pauline feature. In fact, given the supposition in 2 Thess. 2.2, real or imagined, that a forged letter might be circulating in Paul’s name, Hill asks the logical question in relation to the authenticating signature, namely, ‘[H]ow else would the real author have approached such a misunderstanding?’<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> Cf. Fee, *The First and Second Letters to the Thessalonians*, 237–241; Malherbe, *The Letters to the Thessalonians*, 349–369; Wanamaker, *The Epistles to the Thessalonians*, 17–27; Foster, “Who Wrote 2 Thessalonians?” 154–159; Jeffrey A. D. Weima, *1–2 Thessalonians* (BECNT; Baker Academic, 2014), 46–54.

<sup>99</sup> Foster, “Who Wrote 2 Thessalonians?” 169–170. Alternatively, for an article that defends the non-Pauline authorship of 2 Thessalonians and summarizes the best arguments against Paul as the author, see Edgar Krentz, “A Stone that Will Not Fit: The Non-Pauline Authorship of Second Thessalonians,” in *Pseudepigraphie und Verfasserfiktion in frühchristlichen Briefen* (ed. Jörg Frey et al.; WUNT 246; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 439–470. If 2 Thessalonians is indeed pseudepigraphic, the genius of the pseudepigrapher, I think, has been underappreciated and perhaps rivals Paul’s own: he has created a literary work steeped in Pauline language—which, for the most part, does not slavishly follow Paul—filled with imaginative echoes from the LXX, which are equally reminiscent of the apostle’s style. Moreover, he has managed to get his literary creation recognized as Pauline in the narrow timeframe between Paul’s death and the turn of the century; it is likely quoted by Polycarp, one of the earliest church fathers (circa 69–155 CE) and bishop of Smyrna, a town on the coast of Asia Minor opposite Thessaloniki (cf. AF, 95).

I think the evidence makes Pauline authorship likely and, as a result, I have occasionally referenced Paul as the author throughout this thesis. The authorship of the epistle is relevant from a text-critical perspective due to arguments from intrinsic probability.<sup>100</sup> That is to say, a variant's conformity to an author's style elsewhere, is thought, all other things being equal, to make it more likely to be the earlier reading. If the author is Paul then appeals to the author's style can include evidence from the other authentic Pauline epistles. But if the author is a Pauline imitator, then appeals to style can only come from 2 Thessalonians or potentially from other Pauline letters the imitator knew. Given that I find it more likely that Paul wrote 2 Thessalonians, I include intrinsic arguments that make use of the other Pauline letters. However, these arguments are never decisive and, in my opinion, not a single reading would change in this thesis if Pauline authorship were not assumed.

### **Chapter Summary and Thesis Preview**

In this introductory chapter, I have described the context from which this thesis has emerged: scholars are studying the text and transmission of individual books of the New Testament in greater depth and broadening the manuscript data on which editions are based by transcribing more manuscripts. This thesis contributes to this conversation by focusing on the text and transmission of 2 Thessalonians. Additionally, in this introductory chapter, I have laid out my method for manuscript selection. Manuscripts were selected using *Teststellen*, an approach pioneered by the INTF. I have also defined the type of text that I aim to reconstruct: the earliest attainable text. Finally, I have articulated the method by which I will reconstruct the editorial text presented in this thesis, namely, Reasoned Eclecticism. My use of this method is apparent in the textual commentary chapter of this thesis. I have not yet described the method by which I will analyze the transmission of 2 Thessalonians. A full articulation of my approach can be found in the textual history chapter of this thesis. In short,

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<sup>100</sup> It is worth noting the INTF editors of the ECM prioritize transcriptional probability over intrinsic probability (cf. Georg Gäbel et al. "The CBGM Applied to Variants from Acts: Methodological Background," *TC* 20 [2015], 2).



I use three different types of data to analyze the transmission and genealogical relationships between the manuscripts: pregenealogical coherence, Byzantine coherence, and agreements in variation. Each of these categories and their results are described in Chapter 4 (“A Textual History of 2 Thessalonians”).

This thesis will proceed as follows: in Chapter 2 (“Critical Text and Apparatus”), I present the editorial text and a negative apparatus of the variation attested in the manuscripts. Then, in Chapter 3 (“Textual Commentary”), I defend the editorial decisions presented in Chapter 2 and I discuss the most relevant and most interesting variation units for 2 Thessalonians. This is followed in Chapter 4 (“A Textual History of 2 Thessalonians”) by an analysis of the most relevant genealogical relationships between the manuscripts and a discussion of what can be discerned about the epistle’s textual history. In Chapter 5 (“The Paratextual Features of the Manuscripts”), I analyze the paratextual features of non-commentary minuscule manuscripts (an important subset in this thesis). The thesis closes with a conclusion which summarizes my findings and suggests avenues for future research.

## CHAPTER 2

### CRITICAL TEXT AND APPARATUS

Before presenting the critical text of this thesis, I will (1) briefly describe the technology used and process followed to create the digital transcriptions and apparatus, (2) provide a full list of the manuscripts included herein, and (3) explain conventions used to organize the critical apparatus.

#### **Digital Editing: Tools and Process<sup>1</sup>**

The majority of the manuscript images utilized for this project were accessed via the NTVMR, though a substantial number also came from CSNTM and a few from the digital archives of larger libraries.<sup>2</sup> The source of all images can be viewed in the table below. Electronic transcriptions were created using the Online Transcription Editor produced and maintained by the Workspace for Collaborative Editing.<sup>3</sup> For each manuscript, I transcribed its text by employing the Nestle-Aland 28<sup>th</sup> edition as a basetext and made changes to this basetext at each point of variation while transcribing the manuscripts.<sup>4</sup> Each transcription was also proofread by comparing the initial electronic transcription against the images a second time.<sup>5</sup> My hope is that the majority of these electronic transcriptions can serve as one of the two independent transcriptions required by the ECM and, thus, provide a starting point for

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<sup>1</sup> Portions of this paragraph were adapted from a paper I presented at the 2016 annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature (Grant G. Edwards, “A New Collation of 2 Thessalonians,” [paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, San Antonio, TX, 20 November, 2016]).

<sup>2</sup> Respectively, the NTVMR and CSNTM can be accessed online at <http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de> and <http://www.csntm.org>.

<sup>3</sup> Online: <https://itsee-wce.birmingham.ac.uk>.

<sup>4</sup> Regarding the possibilities of how to make an electronic transcription, Parker makes the following remarks: “A transcription can be made in one of two ways: by typing the whole text from the manuscript, or by taking a base text and altering it at each point of difference to conform to the text of the manuscript. The latter is more practical” (David C. Parker, *Textual Scholarship and the Making of the New Testament* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014], 114).

<sup>5</sup> For an overview of the typical accuracy of electronic transcriptions see H. A. G. Houghton, “Electronic Transcriptions of New Testament Manuscripts and Their Accuracy, Documentation, and Publication,” in *Ancient Manuscripts in Digital Culture* (ed. David Hamidović, Claire Clivaz, and Sarah Bowen Savant; Leiden: Brill, 2019), 133–153.

that edition reducing the overall workload. Once the transcriptions were created and proofread, they were uploaded to the Collation Editor, another tool of the Workspace for Collaborative Editing. The Collation Editor allows the user to view the results of their transcriptions in a format similar to the ECM and to organize the data in a way that aligns with scholarly conventions. For the most comprehensive overview of the technological tools used and the process followed to create digital editions of the Greek New Testament see Houghton and Smith's recent article, "Digital Editing and the Greek New Testament."<sup>6</sup>

### Manuscripts in this Critical Edition

Below, I provide a table listing each of the manuscripts included in this thesis with their Gregory-Aland number (GA), their contents (Contents), their date according to the *Liste* (Century), their percentage of Majority readings across 1 & 2 Thessalonians according to *Text und Textwert* (TuT), and the institution or organization from whose website I accessed the images of the manuscript (Image Source). In the "Contents" column, "p" indicates that the manuscript includes all or practically all of 2 Thessalonians; "K" indicates that the manuscript in question is a commentary manuscript. For the "TuT" column, "-" indicates that there were zero test passages available for the manuscript.

**Table 1.1: Manuscripts of 2 Thessalonians in this Thesis**

GA	Contents	Century	TuT	Image Source
P30	2 Th 1:1-2	III	-	University Library, Ghent
P92	2 Th 1:4-5, 11-12	III/IV	-	NTVMR
01	p	IV	11%	NTVMR <sup>7</sup>
02	p	V	44%	British Library
03	p	IV	0%	Vatican Library
06	p	VI	22%	Bibliothèque nationale de France
010	p	IX	22%	UCLA Digital Library

<sup>6</sup> Hugh A. G. Houghton and Catherine J. Smith, "Digital Editing and the Greek New Testament," in *Ancient Worlds in Digital Culture* (ed. Claire Clivaz, Paul Dilley, and David Hamidović; Leiden: Brill, 2016), 110–127.

<sup>7</sup> I consulted the authoritative transcription available online at <http://www.codexsinaiticus.org/en/>.

GA	Contents	Century	TuT	Image Source
012	p	IX	22%	Die Sächsische Landesbibliothek & Facsimile <sup>8</sup>
016	p (vac. various)	V	33%	Sanders Transcription <sup>9</sup>
018	pK	IX	100%	NTVMR
020	p	IX	100%	NTVMR
025	p	IX	50%	Tischendorf Transcription <sup>10</sup>
044	p	IX/X	44%	NTVMR & CSNTM
056	pK	X	100%	NTVMR
075	pK	X	78%	NTVMR
0111	2 Th 1:1-2:2	VII	-	NTVMR <sup>11</sup>
0142	pK	X	100%	Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
0150	pK	IX	78%	CSNTM
0151	pK	IX	100%	CSNTM
0278	p	IX	33%	NTVMR
6	p	XIII	44%	NTVMR
33	p	IX	50%	NTVMR
35	p	XI	100%	NTVMR
38	p	XII	44%	NTVMR
61	p	XVI	78%	NTVMR
81	p	XI	44%	NTVMR
88	p	XII	67%	NTVMR
90	p	XVI	78%	NTVMR
103	pK	XII	44%	NTVMR
104	p	XI	56%	British Library
131	p	XIV	67%	NTVMR
142	p	XI	78%	NTVMR
203	p	XII	78%	NTVMR
218	p	XIII	67%	NTVMR
254	pK	XIV	78%	NTVMR

<sup>8</sup> Images at the Die Sächsische Landesbibliothek were used through folio 83a, after which the manuscript becomes far less legible. For folios 83b–85b, I used the images of the following facsimile available at CSNTM: Alexander Reichardt, *Der Codex Boernerianus: Der Breife des Apostels Paulus* (Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1909).

<sup>9</sup> Henry A. Sanders, *The Washington Manuscript of the Epistles of Paul* (New York: MacMillan, 1918), 292–293.

<sup>10</sup> Constantine von Tischendorf, *Monumenta Sacra Inedita. Nova Collectio. 5: Epistulae Pauli et catholicae palimpsestae* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1865), 274–281.

<sup>11</sup> For this transcription I consulted the one available in C. R. Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments* (vol. 3; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1909), 1075–1078. This manuscript has undergone damage since Gregory's transcription. An older image of the recto available on the NTVMR attests the extent of the damage. I have noted two instances in the apparatus below where Gregory may have had better access to a reading of 0111.

<b>GA</b>	<b>Contents</b>	<b>Century</b>	<b>TuT</b>	<b>Image Source</b>
256	p	XI/XII	56%	NTVMR
263	p	XIII	33%	NTVMR
330	p	XII	78%	NTVMR
365	p	XII	67%	CSNTM
384	p	XIII	78%	British Library
425	p	XIV	78%	NTVMR
436	p	XI/XII	44%	NTVMR
442	pK	XII/XIII	56%	NTVMR
451	p	XI	67%	NTVMR
454	pK	X	78%	NTVMR
455	pK	XIII/XIV	56%	NTVMR
459	p	XI	67%	NTVMR
506	p	XI	67%	NTVMR
517	p	XI/XII	100%	NTVMR
582	p	XIV	50%	NTVMR
606	pK	XI	78%	NTVMR
608	pK	XIV	56%	NTVMR
620	p	XII	63%	NTVMR
629	p	XIV	44%	Vatican Library
630	p	XII-XIII	100%	Vatican Library
720	pK	XII	78%	NTVMR
858	pK	XIV	78%	NTVMR <sup>12</sup>
886	pK	XV	57%	NTVMR
915	p	XIII	67%	NTVMR
941	p	XIII/XIV	78%	NTVMR
999	p	XIII	75%	NTVMR
1101	p	XVII	67%	NTVMR
1115	p	XII	78%	NTVMR
1127	p	XII	78%	NTVMR
1241	p	XII	67%	NTVMR
1311	p	XI	78%	NTVMR
1352	p	XIII	78%	NTVMR
1354	p	XIV	100%	NTVMR
1390	p	XIV	83%	NTVMR
1398	p	XIII	56%	NTVMR
1409	p	XIV	78%	NTVMR
1448	p	XII	78%	NTVMR
1456	p	XIII	88%	NTVMR
1524	pK	XIV	67%	NTVMR

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<sup>12</sup> Though cited as 858 in TuT, this manuscript has been assigned a new GA number: 2899.

<b>GA</b>	<b>Contents</b>	<b>Century</b>	<b>TuT</b>	<b>Image Source</b>
1573	p	XII/XIII	44%	NTVMR <sup>13</sup>
1609	p	XIII	100%	NTVMR
1661	p	XIV	78%	NTVMR
1678	pK	XIV	67%	NTVMR
1729	p (vac. 2:5-3:7)	XV	83%	NTVMR
1739	p	X	22%	NTVMR
1751	p	XV	67%	NTVMR
1798	pK	XII	50%	NTVMR
1830	p	XV	67%	CSNTM
1838	p	XI	38%	NTVMR
1845	p	X	78%	NTVMR
1867	p	XII	86%	NTVMR
1881	p	XIV	33%	NTVMR
1890	p	XIV	88%	NTVMR
1899	p	XIV	88%	NTVMR
1908	pK	XI	78%	NTVMR
1910	pK	XI/XII	78%	NTVMR
1912	p	X	33%	NTVMR
1918	p	XIV	43%	NTVMR
1935	pK	XVI	56%	NTVMR
1942	pK	XII	67%	NTVMR
1943	pK	XIV	44%	NTVMR
1945	pK	XIII	78%	NTVMR
1947	pK	XV	56%	Vatican Library
1950	pK	XIV	56%	NTVMR
1961	pK	XIV	63%	British Library
1962	pK	XI/XII	44%	NTVMR
1969	pK	XIII	78%	NTVMR
1973	pK	XIII	56%	CSNTM
1976	pK	XIII	67%	NTVMR
1977	pK	XIV	75%	NTVMR
1984	pK	XIV	67%	NTVMR
1985	pK	XVI	44%	NTVMR
1987	pK	XIV	56%	NTVMR
1991	pK	XIII	56%	NTVMR
1995	pK	XV	67%	NTVMR
2000	pK	XIV	56%	NTVMR
2002	pK	XIII	44%	NTVMR
2003	p	XV	78%	NTVMR

<sup>13</sup> The last folio of 1573 (3:12b–18) for 2 Thessalonians is an insert written by a different hand.

GA	Contents	Century	TuT	Image Source
2004	p	XII	78%	NTVMR
2005	p	XIII	83%	NTVMR
2102	pK	XV	44%	NTVMR
2104	pK	XII	44%	NTVMR
2105	pK	XIV	56%	NTVMR
2127	p	XII	56%	NTVMR
2138	p (vac. 2:11-3:3)	XI	88%	NTVMR
2197	pK	XIV	56%	NTVMR
2248	pK	XIV	67%	NTVMR
2298	p	XII	78%	Bibliothèque nationale de France
2400	p	XIII	78%	University of Chicago
2464	p	IX	43%	CSNTM
2482	pK	XIV	44%	NTVMR
2492	p	XIV	78%	NTVMR
2516	p	XIII	56%	NTVMR
2523	p	XV	56%	NTVMR
2544	p	XVI	56%	NTVMR
2558	p	XIII	83%	NTVMR
2576	pK	XIII	56%	NTVMR
2625	p	XI	50%	NTVMR
2674	p	XVII	88%	NTVMR
2736	p	XV	83%	NTVMR
2772	p	XIII	83%	NTVMR
2805	p	XII/XIII	63%	NTVMR

### Guide to the Text and Critical Apparatus

As discussed in the introduction, I consider the critical text presented below to be the “earliest attainable text.” Below the critical text, I have provided a negative apparatus of the textual data. A negative apparatus includes only variants which diverge from the editorial text. For each divergent variation unit, I provide the editorial text followed by a “[],” followed by the alternate reading(s), followed by the manuscript(s) that support(s) the alternate reading(s). Alternate readings are separated by a semicolon and arranged by popularity though sometime I have grouped similar readings together. That is to say, I have listed the readings first which have the most support, but I occasionally deviate from this convention to

list similar readings near one another.<sup>14</sup> Manuscripts not listed with the alternate reading(s) support the editorial text. For the sake of space, sub-variants which are nonsense readings (Fehler) or due to orthographic differences have not been given in full but instead have been listed with their parent reading.<sup>15</sup> However, these readings are fully accessible in Appendix 1 (“Orthographic, Erroneous, and Reconstructed Readings”). My transcriptions follow IGNTP transcription guidelines; readers not familiar with standard transcribing conventions, such as the use of dots under letters or the bracketing of letters, should consult those guidelines.<sup>16</sup>

The following abbreviations have also been used:

ad init.	<i>ad initium</i> (“at the beginning”) and indicates that a variant occurs before the first word of the editorial text of a verse
<b>Byz</b>	a reading read by the majority of the “pure” Byzantine manuscripts selected for this thesis (35 517 999 1354 1609).
<b>C</b>	A “C” attached to the end of a manuscript number indicates a corrector reading. The presence of numbers (“C1”) indicate multiple correctors, which are ordered by their numbers. The order of correctors is only applicable within variation units. That is to say, “C1” for a particular manuscript in a specific variation unit may not be the same corrector as “C1” for the same manuscript in a different variation unit. If the original hand (indicated by a *; see below) is not listed among the alternate readings, then it supports the editorial text. If subsequent correctors support the editorial text, I have indicated this situation with a footnote (cf. 2 Thess 2:1).
def	a manuscript is defective or lacunose for a particular verse.

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<sup>14</sup> The entry for εν κυριω ιησου χριστω in 2 Thess 3:12 provides a good example of the utility of such an approach, where grouping similar readings near one another facilitates readability of the apparatus. I reproduce the entry below.

εν κυριω ιησου χριστω ] εν κυριω ιησου 025; δια του κυριου ημων ιησου χριστου 01C 06C 018 020 056 075 0142 0150 0151 6 35 38 61 90 131 142 218 254 330 384 425 442 451 454 455C 517 582 606 608 620 629 630 720 886C 941 1101 1115 1127 1241 1311 1352 1354 1390 1398 1409 1448 1456 1524 1609 1661 1678 1729 1751 1830 1867 1908 1943 1945 1947 1962 1969 1976C 1977 1991 1995 2000 2002 2003 2004 2104 2105 2248 2298 2400 2482 2492 2516 2523 2558V 2674 2736; δια του κυριου ιησου χριστου 044 2005 2138; δια του κυριου ημων ιησου 1899; δια του κυριου ημων χριστου 999; μεσιτην παραλαμβανοντες τον χριστον 103 455\* 858 1935 1950 1961 1973 1984 1985 1987 2102 2197; om 886\* 1798 1918; lac 1976\*

<sup>15</sup> I have not made any orthographic decisions for variation involving second and third person personal pronouns (e.g., ἡμῶν vs ὑμῶν), since confusion between the two occurs frequently and too often both pronouns make sense in context. Thus, these readings are given in full in the apparatus.

<sup>16</sup> “Guidelines for Transcribing Greek Manuscripts Using the IGNTP Implementation of the Online Transcription Editor.” Available Online: [http://epapers.bham.ac.uk/2161/1/Transcription\\_Editor\\_Guidelines\\_1-2.pdf](http://epapers.bham.ac.uk/2161/1/Transcription_Editor_Guidelines_1-2.pdf).



f	<i>fehler</i> (“error”) and indicates an error reading which cannot be regularized to another reading in the same variation unit.
ill char	the presence of illegible characters (i.e., letters). The number of illegible letters is usually noted (e.g., “ill 3 char” to indicate the presence of three illegible letters).
lac	a manuscript is lacunose for a particular variation unit. If placed in angled brackets (<lac>), then lac indicates that a portion of the reading is missing.
NA28	a reading in the editorial text of the Nestle-Aland 28 <sup>th</sup> edition.
om	a manuscript omits the reading in question.
S	<i>supplementum</i> (supplement) and indicates that a page with a later hand has been inserted into the manuscript.
V	<i>ut videtur</i> (“as it seems”) and indicates that all or a portion of the reading in question has been reconstructed.
*	A “*” attached to a manuscript siglum indicates that the reading in question is the original hand of a manuscript. It also indicates that at least one corrector reading is present for the indicated manuscript for the variation unit in question. If the corrector reading is not listed in the negative apparatus, then it supports the editorial text. If subsequent correctors support the editorial text, I have indicated this situation with a footnote (cf. 2 Thess 2:1).
◆	As in the ECM, this symbol indicates that the evidence is inconclusive as to which reading is the earliest. The relevant reading is marked with this symbol in the critical text as are its competing reading(s) in the apparatus.
†	This symbol indicates that the reading I have selected as the earliest differs from NA28.
→	This symbol indicates that the variation unit in question is discussed in the commentary chapter of this thesis.

A full positive apparatus with links to individual transcriptions of the manuscripts can be found at the following website: [www.purl.org/itsee/edwards-phd](http://www.purl.org/itsee/edwards-phd).

## Critical Text and Apparatus

### → Inscriptio

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Whole verse ] def. P92 025 0111 582 629 630 1115 1838 1910 1918 1943 1985 2104  
2772; om. 056 075 103 455 606 608 720 858 886 1798 1935 1945 1947 1961 1969 1973  
1991 1995 2000 2002 2102 2138 2197 2248 2482 2576

προς θεσσαλονικεις β 01 02 03 06 06C 016 018 044 0142 0150 0151 6 33 61\* 61C  
81 104 142 436 442 454 459 517 1354 1448 1751 1845 1890 1908 1912 1976 1984 2003  
2005 2127 2298

προς θεσσαλονικεις β επιστολη 35 38 131 1456 1729 1867 1962V;

προς θεσσαλονικης β επιστολης 256 1609 1977

προς θεσσαλονικεις β επιστολη παυλου 999 2400 2516

προς θεσσαλονικεις β επιστολης παυλου 1661

προς θεσσαλονικεις β επιστολη παυλου αποστολου 90

προς θεσσαλονικεις β επιστολη παυλου του αποστολου 384

προς θεσσαλονικεις β επιστολης παυλου του αποστολου 425 1409V

προς θεσσαλονικεις β επιστολης του αγιου παυλου 218 1352

προς θεσσαλονικεις β επιστολη της αγιου αποστολου παυλου 2523

προς θεσσαλονικεις β παυλου επιστολη 1830

προς θεσσαλονικεις επιστολη β 365 2544

προς θεσσαλονικεις επιστολης β παυλου 620

προς θεσσαλονικεις επιστολης παυλου β 451 1398

προς θεσσαλονικεις παυλου επιστολη β 941 2558V

προς θεσσαλονικεις επιστολη β του αγιου παυλου 2674

η προς θεσσαλονικεις β επιστολη 1101 2736

η προς θεσσαλονικεις β επιστολη του αγιου αποστολου παυλου 2105

## Inscriptio – cont. –

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- της προς θεσσαλονικεις β επιστολης 1942
- αρχετ[αι] προς θεσσαλονι β 012
- αρχεται προς θεσσαλονικαιων β 010
- επιστολη προς θεσσαλονικεις β 263 1241 1573 2464
- επιστολη προς θεσσαλονικεις β παυλου 1739
- παυλου αποστολου επιστολη προς θεσσαλονικεις β 0278 88 915 2805
- παυλου αποστολου προς επιστολη β προς θεσσαλονικεις 1678
- παυλου επιστολη β προς θεσσαλονικεις 330; παυλος αποστολος προς θεσσαλονικεις επιστολη β 1899
- παυλου επιστολη προς θεσσαλονικεις β 1390 1881
- ο παυλος γραφει τοις θεσσαλονικευσι 2492
- του αγιου αποστολου παυλου προς θεσσαλονικεις επιστολη β 020
- του αγιου αποστολου παυλου επιστολη β προς θεσσαλονικεις 254 1524
- του αγιου αποστολου παυλου επιστολη προς θεσσαλονικεις β 1311
- του αγιου αποστολου παυλου προς θεσσαλονικεις β επιστολη 203
- του αγιου και ενδοξου αποστολου παυλου προς θεσσαλονικεις 506
- του αγιου και πανευφημου αποστολου παυλου προς θεσσαλονικεις β επιστολης 2625
- του αυτου επιστολη προς θεσσαλονικεις β 1950 1987
- του αυτου προς θεσσαλονικεις επιστολη β 1127
- του αυτου πανευφημου παυλου του αποστολου επιστολη προς θεσσαλονικεις 2004
- lac P30

## 2 Thessalonians 1:1

Παῦλος καὶ Σιλουανὸς καὶ Τιμόθεος τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ Θεσσαλονικέων ἐν θεῷ πατρὶ ἡμῶν  
καὶ κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ,

---

Whole verse ] def P92 1838 2138

παυλος ] lac P30 0111 2772

και ] om 630\*; lac P30 0111 2772

σιλουανος και τιμοθεος τη ] lac P30 0111

θεσσαλονικεων ] lac P30

εν θεω πατρι ημων και κυριω ιησου χριστω ] om 33

→ εν θεω ] εν χριστω 1524; + και 01\* 056 0142 2558; lac P30

πατρι ημων και κυριω ιησου χριστω ] om 629

πατρι ] lac P30

ημων ] υμων 1729; om 1661 1678\* 1751 1830 1912; lac P30

και ] lac P30 0111

→ κυριω ιησου χριστω ] κυριω ιησου χριστου 0150 620 1912 1969; κυριου ιησου χριστου 365 1573 1918; κυριου ιησου χριστω 2127 2625; κυριω χριστω ιησου 06; χριστω ιησου 010 012 0142; κυριω ημων ιησου χριστω 1995; κυριω ημων ιησου χριστου 608; κυριου <ill 4-8 char> 016; lac P30 0111

## 2 Thessalonians 1:2

χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς ♦ ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

---

Whole verse ] def P92 1838 2138; om 044 0150 608 1942

<ad init> ] + παυλος και σιλουανος 1950\*f

υμιν ] ημιν 38 365 1398 2102; lac P30 0111

και ειρηνη απο θεου ] lac P30; + <ill 3 char> 2558

πατρος ] lac P30

→ ημων ] ♦ om 03 06 025 0111 0142 33 455 886 1729 1739 1881 1912 1961 1976 1984  
2102 2104 2576; lac P30

και ] om 1918; lac P30

κυριου ] lac P30; + ημων 0142 1976 1984; lac P30

ιησου ] lac P30

χριστου ] om 218; lac P30

## 2 Thessalonians 1:3

Εὐχαριστεῖν ὀφείλομεν τῷ θεῷ πάντοτε περὶ ὑμῶν, ἀδελφοί, καθὼς ἄξιόν ἐστιν, ὅτι ὑπεραυξάνει ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν καὶ πλεονάζει ἡ ἀγάπη ἐνὸς ἐκάστου πάντων ὑμῶν εἰς ἀλλήλους,

---

Whole verse ] def P30 P92 1838; om 1942

ευχαριστειν ] lac 2138

οφειλομεν ] ωφειλομεν 075; [4]λομεν 0111

τω θεω παντοτε ] παντοτε τω θεω 38 218 455 886 1352 1961 2576

υμων ] ημων 010 1311; [2]ων 0111

αδελφοι ] om 2000 2248

καθως ] + και 1241

αξιον εστιν ] εστιν αξιον 1661

υπεραυξανει ] υπεραυξει 142; υπερ αυτου αυξανει 1311

υμων ] ημων 1751 1830; [2]ων 0111

και ] lac 016; + ινα 1985 2102; lac 016

πλεοναζει ] lac 016

η αγαπη ] εν αγαπη 2772; om 1935; lac 016; + υμων 2127 2544\*; lac 016

ενος εκαστου ] om 1798; lac 016

→ παντων υμων ] υμων 0278 33 142 330 451 1398 1739 1881 2400 2516; παντων 01\* 1729; παντων ημων 1127 1950C; το και 1950\*; om 2127; lac 016

εις αλληλους ] lac 016

## 2 Thessalonians 1:4

ὥστε αὐτοὺς ἡμᾶς ἐν ὑμῖν ἐγκαυχᾶσθαι ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τοῦ θεοῦ ὑπὲρ τῆς  
ὑπομονῆς ὑμῶν καὶ πίστεως ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς διωγμοῖς ὑμῶν καὶ ταῖς θλίψεσιν αἷς  
ἀνέχεσθε,

---

Whole verse ] def P30 016 1838; om 1942

<ad init> ] + ινα 103f; lac P92

ωστε ] lac P92

→ αὐτοὺς ἡμᾶς ] ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς 02 06 010 012 018 020 044 056 0142 0150 0151 6 35 88  
103 104 131 142 254 256 365 436 454 455 459 517 606 608 629 630 720 858 886 915 941  
999 1101 1115 1127 1241 1354 1409 1448 1456 1524 1573 1609 1678 1729 1739 1751 1798  
1830 1867 1881 1890 1899 1908 1910 1935 1943 1945 1947 1950 1961 1962 1969 1976  
1977 1984 1987 1991 1995 2000 2003 2004 2005 2104 2105 2127 2138 2248 2298 2400  
2492 2516 2523 2558 2576 2625 2674 2736 2772 2805 **Byz**; αὐτοὺς ὑμᾶς 025 38; ὑμᾶς  
αὐτοὺς 075 90 263 330 384 425 451 582 620 1390 1398 1661 1918 1973 1985 2002 2102  
2197 2482; [αὐτοὺς] [2]ας 0111; ἡμᾶς 1311; lac P92

→ ἐν ὑμῖν ἐγκαυχᾶσθαι ] ἐν ὑμῖν καυχᾶσθαι 06 018 020 044 056 075 0142 0150 0151  
0278 35 38 61 88 90 103 104 131 142 218 254 256 263 330 365 384 425 436 442 451 454  
455 459 517 582 606 608 620 629 630 720 858 886 915 941 999 1101 1115 1127 1241 1352  
1354 1390 1398 1409 1448 1456 1524 1573 1609 1661 1678 1729 1830 1845 1881 1890  
1899 1908 1910 1935 1943 1945 1947 1950 1961 1962 1969 1973 1976 1977 1984 1985  
1987 1991 2000 2002 2003 2004 2005 2102 2105 2127 2138 2197 2248 2298 2400 2482  
2492 2516 2523 2544 2558 2576 2625 2674 2736 2772 **Byz**; ἐν ὑμῖν καυχῆσθαι 010 012;  
ἐν ὑμῖν καὶ καυχᾶσθαι 6 1739; ἐν ὑμῖν μεγάλα καυχᾶσθαι 1798; ἐγκαυχᾶσθαι ἐν ὑμῖν  
1751; καυχᾶσθαι ἐν ὑμῖν 1311 1995; ἐν ἡμῖν καυχᾶσθαι 1867 2104; lac P92

ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τοῦ θεοῦ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑπομονῆς ] lac P92

ὑμῶν καὶ πίστεως ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς διωγμοῖς ] om 0142 0278\*

ὑμῶν ] ἡμῶν 620 1918 2004 2674; [1]μῶν 720; lac P92

καὶ ] lac P92 2772

→ πίστεως ] τῆς πίστεως 38 103 254 455 608 858 886 1524 1935 1947 1950 1961 1973  
1976 1984 1985 1987 1995 2000 2005 2102 2104 2138 2248 2576; lac P92 2772

## 2 Thessalonians 1:4 – cont. –

ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς διωγμοῖς ὑμῶν καὶ ταῖς θλίψεσιν αἷς ἀνέχεσθε,

---

εν πασιν τοις διωγμοις υμων και ταις θλιψεσιν αις ανεχεσθε ] om 1910

εν πασιν ] και πασιν 1524; lac P92 2772

τοις ] om 1899 1962; lac P92 2772

διωγμοις ] lac 2772

υμων ] ημων 454 582 620 1390 1918 2104; om 630 999\* 1354 1448 2558; lac P92 2772

και ] lac P92 2772

→ ταις θλιψεσιν ] θλιψεσιν 06\* 010 012 025 0111V 442; της θλιψεως 1950; lac P92 2772

αις ] εν αις 018 38 1524 2492; om 075 2105\*; lac 2772

→ ανεχεσθε ] ενεχεσθε 03 1867 2544; lac 2772



## 2 Thessalonians 1:5

ἐνδειγμα τῆς δικαίας κρίσεως τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς τὸ καταξιωθῆναι ὑμᾶς τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ, ὑπὲρ ἧς καὶ πάσχετε,

---

Whole verse ] def P30 016 1838; om 1942

<ad init> ] + εἰς 442 455 1751 1961 2576; lac P92

ενδειγμα ] ενδειγματι 38 582 1918; lac P92

της ] lac P92

→ δικαίας κρίσεως ] δικαιοκρισίας 142 629 858 941 1609 1678 1729 1751 1867 2003

του θεου εἰς τὸ καταξιωθῆναι ὑμᾶς τῆς βασιλείας ] om 075 33 1661

του ] lac P92

θεου ] χριστου 425; lac P92 0111<sup>17</sup>

εἰς ] ὡς 1352; καὶ 1995; lac P92 0111; + ενδειγμα τῆς δικαίας κρίσεως του θεου εἰς 1969f

το ] lac P92

καταξιωθῆναι ] αξιωθῆναι 2005 2138; [3-6]ωθη[3] P92; + καὶ 2492; lac P92

υμᾶς ] ημᾶς 2105\*; lac P92

της βασιλείας ] τὴν βασιλειαν 1751; lac P92

του θεου ] lac P92; + εἰς τὸ καταξιωθῆναι ὑμᾶς τῆς βασιλείας του θεου 1830\*f 2674f; lac P92

υπερ ἧς ] περι ἧς 010 012 1609 1798 2104; ἐν ἧς 1918; lac P92

καὶ πασχετε ] καὶ ἐπασχετε 6 81 1739; πασχετε 010\* 2516; ἐπασχετε 1881; lac P92

---

<sup>17</sup> Gregory reads θεου (*Textkritik des Neuen Testaments*, 1075).

## 2 Thessalonians 1:6

εἴπερ δίκαιον παρὰ θεῶ ἀνταποδοῦναι τοῖς θλίβουσιν ὑμᾶς θλίψιν

---

Whole verse ] def P30 P92 016 1838; om 629\* 1942

<ad init> ] + της 1573

ειπερ ] περ 010 012; + και 203 506

δικαιον ] + εστιν 254C 858 1973 1985 2000 2102 2197 2248

→ παρα θεω ] παρα τω θεω 02 0278 38 104 203 218 263 365 442 459 506 999 1352 1573  
2005 2127 2138 2492 2523 2576

ανταποδουναι ] + αυτοις 010 012

τοις θλιβουσιν υμας θλιψιν ] τοις θλιβουσιν ημας θλιψιν 582 620 1910 1918; τοις  
θλιβουσιν υμας θλιψει 451 1398 2492 2516; θλιψιν τοις θλιβουσιν υμας 629C; om 1573

## 2 Thessalonians 1:7

καὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς θλιβομένοις ἀνεσιν μεθ' ἡμῶν, ἐν τῇ ἀποκαλύψει τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ μετ' ἀγγέλων δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ

---

Whole verse ] def P30 P92 016 1838; om 1942

και υμιν τοις θλιβομενοις ανεσιν ] om 1910-2

και υμιν τοις θλιβομενοις ] om 629\*

και ] om 1573

υμιν ] ημιν 0151 1881 2127 2298 2558; om 1573

→ ημων ] υμων 01\* 044 90 330 451 1115 1311 1398 1729 1881 1985 2003 2102 2492 2516; [1]μων 81; lac 1947

εν τη αποκαλυψει ] εν τη ημερα 442

→ του κυριου ιησου ] του κυριου ημων ιησου 0111 330 451 629 1398 2492 2516 2772; του κυριου ιησου χριστου 263 365 1573 2127 2523; του κυριου ημων ιησου χριστου 020 075 442 720 1908 2400 2544 2736; lac 1947

απ ουρανου ] lac 1947

μετ αγγελων δυναμεως αυτου ] om 1910-2

μετ αγγελων ] lac 1947

δυναμεως ] δυναμεων 1899 2102 2482 2674; δυναμεω[1] 608 1115; lac 1947

αυτου ] lac 1947

## 2 Thessalonians 1:8

♦ ἐν πυρὶ φλογός, διδόντος ἐκδίκησιν τοῖς μὴ εἰδόσιν θεὸν καὶ τοῖς μὴ ὑπακούουσιν  
τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ,

---

Whole verse ] def P30 P92 016 1838

<ad init> ] + καὶ 010 012

→ ἐν πυρὶ φλογός ] ♦ ἐν φλογὶ πυρός 03 06 010 012 044 075 0150 203 330 451 506 606  
1398 1908 1912 2005 2138 2400 2464 2492 2516 2805; ἐν φλογὶ πυρός ἐν πυρὶ φλογός  
263; om 1942; lac 0111\*<sup>18</sup>

→ διδόντος ] διδούς 06\* 06C2 010 012 044 606 2005 2138; διδόντες 06C1; διδοντ[1]ς  
2105\*

τοὶς μὴ εἰδοσὶν ] τοὶς μὴ εἰδοξάν 1918; τοὶς <lac> 2558; om 1985 2102

→ θεόν ] τὸν θεόν 01C 025 0278 218 254 256 263 330 365 451 606 1115 1127 1241 1352  
1398 1524 1573 1830 1935 1945 1950 1987 2127 2400 2516 2523 2544 2576; τὸν κύριον  
38; θεὸν 915; om 1985 2102; lac 2558

καὶ τοὶς μὴ ] lac 2558

ὑπακούουσιν ] ὑπακούσασιν 075 1908; ἀκούουσιν 606 1969; ἐπακούουσιν 0278

τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ ] τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ 1918 1977; τῷ ἀγγελῷ 2127; om 2000 2248; lac 2558

→ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν ἰησοῦ ] τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ 01 02 010 012 056 075 0142  
0150 0278 6 35 38 61 81 104 131 218 256 263 365 425 436 442 454 459 506 582 606 620  
629 630 999 1101 1115 1127 1241 1311 1352 1354 1409 1448 1456 1573 1661 1867 1890  
1899 1912 1918 1935 1950 1987 2127 2400 2464 2516 2523 2544 2576 2625 2736 2805  
**Byz**; τοῦ κυρίου ἰησοῦ 88 103 254 455\* 608 858 886 915 1524 1729 1798 1910 1942 1943  
1961 1962 1969 1973 1976\* 1977 1984 1985 1991 1995 2000 2002 2102 2104 2105 2197  
2248\* 2482; τοῦ κυρίου ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ 455C 2248C; lac 2558; + τοὶς μὴ ἰδῶσι θεόν 1985  
2102

---

<sup>18</sup> NA28 reads ἐν πυρὶ φλογός for the first hand of 0111 (with superscripted vid). This could be due to the fact that Gregory, at times, printed the visible corrected text in his *editio princeps*, only noting which readings were corrections in his accompanying comments. For this variation unit, Gregory writes in his comments that for “1,8 ist πυρὶ φλογός διο von sp Hd [später Hand] überzogen und das ΔΙΟ für διδόν ist undeutlich (man möchte denken, dass φλογὶ πυρός zuerst gestanden habe mit B D<sup>gr</sup> F G)” (*Textkritik des Neuen Testaments*, 1077). To my eye, the first hand is illegible and, therefore, I have marked the first hand of 0111 as lac for this variation unit.

## 2 Thessalonians 1:9

οἵτινες δίκην τίσουσιν ὅλεθρον αἰώνιον ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ κυρίου καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς  
δόξης τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτοῦ,

---

Whole verse ] def P30 P92 016 1838

δικην ] δικησιν 1573; δικας 2000

→ ολεθρον ] ολεθριον 02 075 0278 33 81V 90 263 330 384 442 451 606 608 1678 1751  
1845 1908 1910 1942 1962 1995 2005 2138 2492 2516 2544; ο[4-5]ν 0111;<sup>19</sup> ο[6-7] 2558

→ του κυριου ] κυριου 06 010 012 044 075 6 38 218 254 330 451 455 608 886 941 1115  
1127 1311 1352 1935 1943 1950 1961 1973 1976 1977 1984 1985 1987 1991 1995 2002  
2102 2105 2197 2248 2400 2482 2516 2576\*; του θεου 81; lac 2772

και ] om 2105\*; lac 2772

απο<sup>2</sup> ] lac 2772; + προσωπου 254 1524 2523; om 2000 2248; lac 2772

της δοξης της ισχυος αυτου ] δοξης της ισχυος αυτου 1729 1976 1984 2400; της ισχυος  
της δοξης αυτου 104 459; της δυναμεως της ισχυος αυτου 2105\*; lac 2772

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<sup>19</sup> Gregory reads ολεθρον (*Textkritik des Neuen Testaments*, 1076).

## 2 Thessalonians 1:10

ὅταν ἔλθῃ ἐνδοξασθῆναι ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις αὐτοῦ καὶ θαυμασθῆναι ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς πιστεύουσιν, ὅτι ἐπιστεύθη τὸ μαρτύριον ἡμῶν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ.

---

Whole verse ] def P30 P92 1838

οταν ελθῃ ἐνδοξασθῆναι ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις αὐτοῦ ] om 1311

οταν ελθῃ ] οτι ελθῃ 2127; lac 016 2772

ἐνδοξασθῆναι ] δοξασθῆναι 2298; [2-4][ξ]ασθῆναι 016; [7-9]ναι 2772

ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις αὐτοῦ καὶ θαυμασθῆναι ] om 2464

ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις αὐτοῦ ] τοῖς ἁγίοις αὐτοῦ 629 941 1678 2736; ἐν τοῖς ἀγγελοῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς ἁγίοις 2105\*

θαυμασθῆναι ] θαυμαστωθῆναι 330 451 999 1398 1661 2400 2492 2516;  
ἐνθαυμασθῆναι 06\* 010 012

ἐν πᾶσιν ] ἐπὶ πᾶσιν 606 1945; ἐν τοῖς πᾶσιν 0278\*

→ τοῖς πιστεύουσιν ] τοῖς πιστευουσιν 044 33 90 254 384 442 454 582 620 630 1390 1448  
1524 1751 1845 1912 1918V 1984 1985 2000 2102 2248 2298 2464 2492 2544 2558V 2805;  
τοῖς <lac> 0111; + εἰς αὐτὸν 0278

οτι ] om 1751

ἐπιστευθῇ τὸ μαρτύριον ἡμῶν ] τὸ μαρτύριον ἡμῶν ἐπιστευθῇ 506

→ ἐπιστευθῇ ] ἐπιστωθῇ 104 459

ἡμῶν ] ὑμῶν 330 451 1115 1127 1890 2104 2105\*; αὐτοῦ 1729; lac 2558; + καὶ 454 582  
620

ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ] ἐφ' ἡμᾶς 254 1456 1729 1890 1977 2005 2104; ἐφ' [1]μᾶς 0111 1947

ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ] om 88

## 2 Thessalonians 1:11

Εἰς ὃ καὶ προσευχόμεθα πάντοτε περὶ ὑμῶν, ἵνα ὑμᾶς ἀξιώσῃ τῆς κλήσεως ὁ θεὸς  
ἡμῶν καὶ πληρώσῃ πᾶσαν εὐδοκίαν ἀγαθωσύνης

---

Whole verse ] def P30 1838

εις ο και προσευχομεθα παντοτε περι υμων ινα ] om 88

εις ο ] εις οπερ 1962; lac P92 1947 2464

και ] om 1456; lac P92 0111 1947 2464

προσευχομεθα ] lac P92 0111

παντοτε ] παντες τοτε 1311; παντες 263; om 1678; lac P92 0111; + και 06\*V 103; lac P92 0111

περι υμων ] περι ημων 263 582 1573; περι [1]μων 2492; περι <lac> 0111V; lac P92

ινα ] lac P92 016 0111

υμας αξιωση ] ημας αξιωση 38 263 330 442 451 1398 2004 2400 2492 2516 2576 2772;  
υμας αξιωθαι 0278; αξιωση υμας 629 1995; αξιωση 88 915; [1]μας αξιωση 016; <lac>  
αξιωση 0111V; lac P92

της κλησεως ο θεος ημων ] της κλησεως ο θεος υμων 06C 018 020 0151 61C 90 384  
454 517 1390 2004 2104 2298; της κλησεως υμων ο θεος ημων 010 012; της κλησεως ο  
θεος 06\* 256 263 365 436 442 606 1409 1573 1845 2127 2625; της κλησεως ημων ο θεος  
044 1995 2005 2138; της κλησεως υμων ο θεος 1241; της κλησεως υμων 1729; της  
κλησεως αυτου ο κυριος ημων 629; ο θεος της κλησεως ημων 2805; της κλησεως <lac>  
016; <lac> κλησεως <lac> 0111V; lac P92

και ] lac P92

→ πληρωση ] πληρωσει 02 018 025 044 0151 0278 6 38 81 103 263 915 1241 1311 1409  
1573 1751 1845 1912 1945 1973 1985 2000 2004 2102 2104 2464; πληρωσαι 2674;  
πληρωσε 010; πληρ[3] 0111; lac P92

πασαν ] παν 1950; εις πασαν 606 1945; lac P92

ευδοκιαν αγαθωσυνης ] ευδοκιαν αγαθωσυνη 2482; ευδοκιαν αγαθωσυνην 2674;  
αγαθωσυνην ευδοκias 1729; επιθυμιαν αγαθωσυνης 33; δικαιοσυνην 1751; ευδοκιαν  
αγαθωσυνη[2] 1977; ευ[6] [α]γαθω[5] 0111; lac P92 016

## 2 Thessalonians 1:11 – cont. –

καὶ ἔργον πίστεως ἐν δυνάμει,

---

καὶ ] lac P92 016 0111

ἐργον ] ἐργων 0278 38 218 256 365 1311 1573 1912 2127; ἐργου 1991; ἐργα 1985;  
ἐργω 2102; ἐργ[2] 2558; ἐρ[3] 016; lac P92

πίστεως ] lac P92 016 0111

ἐν ] lac P92 016

δυνάμει ] τη δυνάμει 2248; δικαιοσυνει 0151; lac 016



## 2 Thessalonians 1:12

ὥπως ἐνδοξασθῇ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ ἐν ὑμῖν, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐν αὐτῷ, κατὰ τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν καὶ

---

Whole verse ] def P30 016 1838; om 1942

οπως ] οπως αν 0278; οτι οπως 90; lac P92

ενδοξασθη ] ενδοξασθαι 630; ενδο[5-6] 0111; δοξασθη 0278 1912 2248; lac P92

→ κυριου ημων ιησου ] κυριου ημων ιησου χριστου 02 010 012 025 0150 0151 0278 33  
35 38 61 81 90 103 104 131 142 203 254 365 384 436 455 459 506 582 608 620 629 720 858  
886 941 999 1101 1352 1354 1409 1448 1524 1573 1661 1678 1739 1751 1798 1881 1890  
1899 1918 1935 1943 1945 1947 1950 1961 1962 1969 1973 1976 1977 1984 1985 1987  
1995 2000 2002 2005 2102 2104 2105 2127 2138 2197 2248 2482 2544 2576 2625 2736  
**Byz**; κυριου ιησου 442 1127 1729 2523; κυριου 1115; lac P92

εν υμιν και υμεις εν αυτω κατα την χαριν του θεου ημων και κυριου ιησου χριστου ]  
om 1962

εν υμιν ] εν ημιν 1950 2482 2576; εν δυναμει 1729; om 1985 2102; lac P92

και υμεις εν αυτω κατα την χαριν του θεου ημων και κυριου ιησου χριστου ] om 010  
012

και ] om 2002\*; lac P92

υμεις ] ημεις 02 425 1881; [1]μεις 0111; om 2002\*

εν αυτω ] lac P92

κατα την χαριν του θεου ημων και κυριου ιησου χριστου ] om 1961 2005

κατα ] lac P92

την χαριν ] χαριν 88 263 915; την αρχ[1-2] 1115; lac P92

του θεου ] θεου 018 0151; του κυριου 131

ημων ] υμων 1729; om 2000 2102; lac P92

και ] om 131; lac P92

## **2 Thessalonians 1:12 – cont. –**

κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

---

κυρίου ιησου χριστου ] κυριου ιησου χριστου ημων 1985 2102; κυριου ημων ιησου  
χριστου 38 2000; κυριου ιησου 2558V 2772; ιησου χριστου 131 2127; lac P92; + και υμων  
επι 1729\*f; lac P92

## 2 Thessalonians 2:1

Ἐρωτῶμεν δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί, ὑπὲρ τῆς παρουσίας τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ  
καὶ ἡμῶν ἐπισυναγωγῆς ἐπ’ αὐτὸν

---

Whole verse ] def P30 P92 016 1838 2005; om 1942

ερωτωμεν δε υμας αδελφοι υπερ της παρουσιας του κυριου ημων ιησου χριστου ] om  
33 1962

ερωτωμεν ] [6-7]v 01\*

δε υμας αδελφοι ] om 1751

δε ] και 2482

υμας ] ημας 38

→ υπερ ] περι 056 0142 103 142 254 455 608 720 858 886 1524 1609 1798 1830 1910  
1935 1947 1950 1961 1969 1973 1976 1977 1984 1987 1991 1995 2000 2002 2104 2105  
2138 2197 2248 2482 2544 2558 2576; το περι 1985 2102; lac 1943

→ του κυριου ημων ] του κυριου 03 044; του χριστου ημων 38; om 90 384

ιησου χριστου ] ιησου 1739 1881; ιησου και κυριου 38; ιησου <lac> 0111

ημων ] υμων 88 915 1985 2102

επισυναγωγης ] συναγωγης 61 720\* 2248\*; επι γης 018; επισυναγωνισασθαι 044; lac  
0111 2772

επ αυτον ] επ αυτων 330 451 1398 2104 2400 2516 2674; εις αυτον 018 0151; επ αυτην  
2105; προς αυτον 2523; <lac> αυτον 0111V; lac 2772

## 2 Thessalonians 2:2

εἰς τὸ μὴ ταχέως σαλευθῆναι ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ νοῦς μηδὲ θροεῖσθαι,

---

Whole verse ] def P30 P92 016 1838 2005

εἰς το μὴ ταχεως σαλευθηναι υμας απο του νοος μηδε θροεισθαι ] om 1942

εἰς το μὴ ] το μὴ 018 0151; ωστε μὴ 2544; ως το μὴ 1991; lac 2772

ταχεως σαλευθηναι ] ταχεως βουλευθηναι 1985 2102; ταχεως σαλευεσθαι 2544;  
σαλευεσθαι ταχεως 1910-2; σαλευθηναι ταχεως 044; ταχεως <lac> 1943; lac 2772

υμας απο του νοος μηδε θροεισθαι μητε δια πνευματος μητε δια λογου μητε δι  
επιστολης ως δι ημων ως οτι ενεστηκεν η ημερα του κυριου ] lac 0111

υμας ] ημας 38 90 365 384 629 886 1729 1845 1910-2 1984; [1]μας 720 1976; lac 1943  
2772

απο του νοος ] υπο του νοος 2558; om 1910-2; lac 1943 2772; + υμων 06 330 451 454  
582 620 1398 1661 1918 2400 2492 2516; lac 1943 2772

μηδε θροεισθαι μητε δια πνευματος μητε δια λογου μητε δι επιστολης ως δι ημων ως  
οτι ενεστηκεν η ημερα του κυριου ] om 1910-1

→ μηδε<sup>20</sup> ] μητε 06C1 018 020 025 056 0142 0150 0151 35 38 61 81 88 90 104 131 142  
203 218 330 384 425 451 454 455 459 506 517 582 608 620 629 630 720 858 886 915 941  
1101 1115 1127 1241 1352 1354 1398 1448 1456 1609 1661 1678 1729 1798 1830 1867  
1890 1899 1910-2 1912 1918 1935 1943 1945 1947 1950 1961 1962 1969 1973 1976 1977  
1984 1985 1987 1991 1995 2000 2002 2003 2004 2102 2104 2105 2197 2248C 2298 2400  
2464 2482 2492 2516 2523 2544 2558 2576 2674 2736 2772 2805 **Byz**; μὴ 254 1390 1524;  
μηποτε 33 1311; μητε δε 999; om 2248\*

→ θροεισθαι ] θροεισθε 02 03 0278 38 81 104 131 218 254 263 330 365 451 454 459 582  
608 620 915 1127 1390 1398 1661 1798 1881 1890 1918 1947 1961 1984 1985 1991 2127  
2400 2464 2492 2516 2558 2576 2674; θροε[4-5] 2772; θροεισθ[1-2] 1524; om 2248\*

---

<sup>20</sup> Both the original hand of Claromontanus (06\*) and a subsequent corrector (06C2) read μηδε.

## 2 Thessalonians 2:2 – cont. –

μήτε διὰ πνεύματος μήτε διὰ λόγου μήτε δι' ἐπιστολῆς ὡς δι' ἡμῶν, ὡς ὅτι  
ἐνέστηκεν ἡ ἡμέρα τοῦ κυρίου·

---

μητε δια πνευματος μητε δια λογου ] μητε δια λογου μητε δια πνευματος 0278; om  
1409

μητε ] μηδε 010

δια πνευματος ] δια του πνευματος 2003

μητε ] μηδε 06\* 06C2 010C; om 2523\*

δια λογου ] + μητε δια προφητειας 103; om 2523\*

μητε ] μη 1985; μηδε 010

δι επιστολης ] δι επιστολων 1976 1987 2000 2197 2248 2772

ως ] om 2000; lac 33

δι ] παρ 025; εξ 2544; lac 33

ημων ] υμων 2492; [1]μων 1991; [2]ων 33

ως οτι ] οτι 365

ενεστηκεν ] ανεστηκεν 941

η ημερα ] ημερα 06\* 0150 2104 2805

→ του κυριου ] του χριστου 06C 018 056 0142 0150 0151 35 38 90 131 142 384 425 454  
455C 517 582 620 630 720 941 1101 1311 1354 1390 1448 1456 1573 1609 1661 1729 1830  
1867 1890 1899 1918 1942 1962 2003 2004 2298 2558 2674 2736 2772 **Byz**; κυριου 010  
012 025 103 254 608 858 1524 1798 1881 1943 1947 1961 1973 1976 1977 1991 1995 2000  
2002 2102 2105 2400 2482; του κυριου ιησου 33; χριστου 2248; om 886

## 2 Thessalonians 2:3

Μή τις ὑμᾶς ἐξαπατήσῃ κατὰ μηδένα τρόπον. ὅτι ἐὰν μὴ ἔλθῃ ἡ ἀποστασία πρῶτον

---

Whole verse ] def P30 P92 016 0111 2005

μη τις ] μηδεις 2544

υμας ] ημας 1729; om 2104

εξαπατηση ] απατηση 720

κατα μηδενα τροπον ] κατα ουδενα τροπον 61; + μητε ως προφητης μητε ως  
διδασκαλος μητε ως εμου γραφοντος τοιαυτα 103

οτι εαν μη ελθῃ η αποστασια πρωτον ] om 2674

οτι ] om 1976 1984

εαν μη ] εαν γαρ μη 1984; ει μη 61; lac 1991

ελθῃ ] lac 1991

η αποστασια πρωτον ] αποστασια πρωτον 103; πρωτον η αποστασια 61C; πρωτον  
αποστασια 61\*; <lac> αποστασια πρωτον 1991V

## 2 Thessalonians 2:3 – cont. –

καὶ ἀποκαλυφθῇ ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀνομίας, ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας,

---

και αποκαλυφθη ο ανθρωπος της ανομιας ] om 582\* 620 1918

και ] lac 2558

αποκαλυφθη ] αποκαλυφθησεται 606

ο ανθρωπος ] lac 1991

της ανομιας ο υιος ] om 1899

→ της ανομιας ] της αμαρτιας 02 06 010 012 018 020 025 044 056 075 0142 0150 0151  
35 61C 88 90 103 131 142 254 330 384 425 442 451 454 455 459 517 582C 606 608 629  
630 720 858 886 915\* 941 999 1101 1241 1311 1354 1390 1398 1409 1448 1456 1524 1609  
1661 1678 1729 1751 1798 1830 1867 1890 1908 1910 1935 1942 1943 1945 1947 1950  
1961 1962 1969 1973 1976 1977 1984 1985 1987 1995 2000 2002 2003 2004 2102 2104  
2105 2138 2197 2248 2298 2400 2482 2492 2516 2576 2674 2736 2772 **Byz**; της <lac 7-8  
char> 33; της [4-5]ιας 2558V; lac 1991

ο υιος της απωλειας ] om 1962\*

ο υιος ] lac 1991

της απωλειας ] της πολιτειας 1985

## 2 Thessalonians 2:4

ὁ ἀντικείμενος καὶ ὑπεραιρόμενος ἐπὶ πάντα λεγόμενον θεὸν ἢ σέβασμα,

---

Whole verse ] def P30 P92 016 0111 2005

ο αντικειμενος ] αντικειμενος 1943

και υπεрайρομενος επι παντα λεγομενον θεον η σεβασμα ωστε αυτον εις τον ναον του θεου καθισαι αποδεικνυντα εαυτον οτι εστιν θεος ] om 1729

και ] om 01\*

υπεрайρομενος ] επαιρομενος 010 012; om 01\*

επι παντα λεγομενον θεον η σεβασμα ωστε αυτον εις τον ναον του θεου καθισαι αποδεικνυντα εαυτον οτι εστιν θεος ] om 2625

επι παντα ] υπερ παντα 104 459 1751 1838; επι παν 1311

λεγομενον ] λεγομενος 61\* 1985; om 1991

θεον ] θεος 61\*; om 1838; lac 33

η σεβασμα ωστε αυτον εις τον ναον του θεου ] om 38

η ] lac 33

σεβασμα ] σεβασματα 1573 2104; lac 33



## 2 Thessalonians 2:4 – cont. –

ὥστε αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ καθίσαι ἀποδεικνύντα ἑαυτὸν ὅτι ἔστιν θεός.

---

ὥστε αὐτον εἰς τον ναον του θεου καθισαι ] om 1961

αὐτον εἰς τον ναον του θεου καθισαι ] καθισαι αὐτον εἰς τον ναον του θεου ως θεον  
1409

αὐτον ] εαυτον 256 2127; om 1678

εἰς τον ναον ] εἰς 2248\*;<sup>21</sup> ναον 1456\*

του θεου ] τον θεου 1352

→ καθισαι ] ως θεον καθισαι 06C 018 020 056 075 0142 0150 0151 0278 35 38 61 131  
203 218 425 454 506 517 606 630V 886 941 999 1101 1241V 1311 1352 1354 1390 1448  
1456 1609 1661 1845 1867 1890 1899 1908 1910 1945 1969 1977 2003 2004 2248C2 2558  
2674 **Byz**; καθισαι ως θεον 103 254 608 720 858 1409 1524 1751 1798 1830 1935 1943  
1947 1950 1973 1976C 1984 1987 1991 1995 2000 2002 2104 2105 2197 2248C1<sup>22</sup> 2298  
2482V 2736 2772; ινα θεον καθισαι 010; ινα θεον καθεσαι 012; καθισαι ως θεου 1976\*;  
καθιστησι ως θεον 1985 2102; μονον καθισαι ως θεον 455 2576

ἀποδεικνυντα εαυτον οτι εστιν θεος ] om 1995

ἀποδεικνυντα ] υποδεικνυντα 254 1524

εαυτον ] αὐτον 629; [2-3]τον 1947

οτι ] και οτι 075

εστιν θεος ] εσται θεος 1985; θεος εστιν 2544

---

<sup>21</sup> Two separate correctors of 2248 read εἰς τον ναον.

<sup>22</sup> Although I have labeled the correctors of 2248 as C1 and C2, in this instance I am not sure which corrector is earlier.

## 2 Thessalonians 2:5

Οὐ μνημονεύετε ὅτι ἔτι ὧν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ταῦτα ἔλεγον ὑμῖν;

---

Whole verse ] def P30 P92 0111 1729 2005 2625

οτι ] om 915

ετι ] om 886\* 1751 2104 2464

ων<sup>23</sup> ] εμου οντος 06\*; εμω οντος 06C1; om 2492; lac 2736

προς ] lac 2558 2736

υμας ] lac 2736

ταυτα ] lac 2736

ελεγον ] ελεγεν 2127; lac 2736

υμιν ] lac 2736

---

<sup>23</sup> A subsequent corrector of Claromontanus (06C2) reads ων.

## 2 Thessalonians 2:6

καὶ νῦν τὸ κατέχον οἶδατε εἰς τὸ ἀποκαλυφθῆναι αὐτὸν †έν τῷ αὐτοῦ καιρῷ.

---

Whole verse ] def P30 P92 0111 1729 2005 2625 2736

και νυν ] και 075

το κατεχον ] τον κατεχον 1973

οιδατε ] om 2576

εις το αποκαλυφθηναι ] και οτι αποκαλυφθηναι 131

αυτον ] lac 1409

→ †εν τω αυτου καιρω ] εν τω εαυτου καιρω **NA28** 01C 03 06 010 012 016V 020 044 056  
0142 0150 0151 0278 6 35 38C 88 103 104 131 142 254 425 436 442 454 455 459 517 582  
606 608 620 629 720 858 886 915 1101 1241 1409 1456C 1524 1573 1609 1661 1678 1739  
1798 1845 1867 1881 1899 1908 1910 1918 1942 1943 1945 1947 1961 1962 1973 1976  
1977 1984 1991 1995 2002 2004 2104 2105 2138 2197 2482 2576 2805 **Byz**; εν τω αυτω  
καιρω 1115 1127 2127; εν τω εαυτω καιρω 1838; εν εαυτου καιρω 2003; εν τω [1-2]υτου  
καιρω 2558

## 2 Thessalonians 2:7

τὸ γὰρ μυστήριον ἤδη ἐνεργεῖται τῆς ἀνομίας· μόνον ὁ κατέχων ἄρτι ἕως ἐκ μέσου  
γένηται.

---

Whole verse ] def P30 P92 0111 1729 2005 2625 2736

το γαρ μυστηριον ] μη γαρ μυστηριον 1943; και το μυστηριον 131; το <lac> μυστηριον  
1976

ηδη ενεργειται της ανομιας ] ηδη ενεργειτε της ανομιας 02 506 1845 1918 1962 2464;  
ηδη ενεργειται ταις ανομιαις 330; ηδη ενεργειται της μιας 1661; της ανομιας ηδη  
ενεργειται 606 1945; ηδη ενεργειται 1910-2; ηδη γαρ ενεργειται της ανομιας 01\*

μονον ο κατεχων αρτι εως εκ μεσου γενηται ] om 1910-2

→ ο κατεχων ] το κατεχον 254 455C 858 1524 1947C 1973 1976 1984 1985 2000 2102  
2197 2248 2576; ο κατεχον 131 1751 1947\*; κατεχων 455\*

αρτι εως ] αρτι εως αν 010 012; αρτι εως ου 81; εως αρτι 608; αρτι ως 131; αρτι ως εως  
2104

εκ μεσου γενηται ] + της ανομιας μονον ο κατεχων αρτι εως εκ σου γενηται 1573f

## 2 Thessalonians 2:8

καὶ τότε ἀποκαλυφθήσεται ὁ ἄνομος, ὃν ♦ ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς ἀνελεῖ τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ καὶ καταργήσῃ τῇ ἐπιφανείᾳ τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ,

---

Whole verse ] def P30 P92 0111 1729 2005 2625 2736

και τοτε αποκαλυφθεται ο ανομος ] om 1910-2

και ] νυν 1985 2102

αποκαλυφθεται ] αποκαλυφθηναι 1985 2102

ο ανομος ] ο ανθρωπος ανομος 2674; ο ανεμος 1524; om 1573

ον ο κυριος ιησους ανελει τω πνευματι του στοματος αυτου και καταργησει τη επιφανεια της παρουσιας αυτου ] om 1942

→ ο κυριος ιησους ] ♦ ο κυριος 03 06C 018 020\* 056 0142 0151 6 35 38 61 88 90 131 142 218 263 384 425 442 454 517 606 620\* 629 630 915 941 999 1115 1127 1311 1352 1354 1390 1409 1448 1456 1609 1661 1678 1739 1830 1867 1881 1890 1899 1910-2 1976 1984 1991 2003 2004 2248 2298 2523 2558 2576 2674 2772 2805 **Byz**; ο κυριος <lac> 016

→ ανελει ] αναλωσει 06C 018 020 044 056 075 0142 0150 0151 6 35 61 90 103 131 142 254 384 425 454 455 517 582 606 608 620 629 630 720 858V 886 941 999 1101 1115 1127V 1241 1311 1354 1390 1409 1448 1456 1524 1609 1661 1678 1751 1798 1830 1867 1881 1890 1899 1908 1910-1 1910-3 1918 1935 1943 1945 1947 1950 1961 1969 1973 1976 1977 1984 1985 1987 1995 2000 2002 2003 2004 2102 2104 2105 2138 2197 2248 2298 2482 2544 2558 2576 2674 2772 **Byz**; ανελοι 01C 010 012 33 1739; αναλοι 01\*; αν[4] 06\*; αναλ[2-4] 1991; lac 016

τω πνευματι ] lac 016

του στοματος ] του σωματος 010; lac 016

αυτου και καταργησει τη επιφανεια της παρουσιας ] om 88 915 1115 1910-3

αυτου ] lac 016

και ] om 941; lac 016

καταργησει ] lac 016

τη επιφανεια ] τη εμφανεια 1867; την επιφανειαν 044; om 606; lac 016

της παρουσιας ] του πνευματος 1947; lac 016

αυτου ] lac 016

## 2 Thessalonians 2:9

οὐ ἔστιν ἡ παρουσία κατ' ἐνέργειαν τοῦ σατανᾶ ἐν πάσῃ δυνάμει καὶ σημείοις καὶ  
τέρασιν ψεύδους

---

Whole verse ] def P30 P92 016 0111 1729 2005 2625 2736

ου εστιν η παρουσία κατ ενεργειαν του σατανα ] om 1942

ου εστιν ] om 1943 2002\* 2482

η παρουσία ] παρουσία 010 104

εν παση δυναμει και σημειοις και τερασιν ψευδους ] om 1910-1

και ] om 0151 33 1838

σημειοις και τερασιν ψευδους ] σημειοις και τερασιν φαινοι 1573

## 2 Thessalonians 2:10

καὶ ἐν πάσῃ ἀπάτῃ ἀδικίας τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις, ἀνθ' ὧν τὴν ἀγάπην τῆς ἀληθείας οὐκ ἐδέξαντο εἰς τὸ σωθῆναι αὐτούς.

---

Whole verse ] def P30 P92 016 0111 1729 2005 2625 2736

και ] om 1678 2000

εν παση απατη ] παση απατη 056 0142 38 1127

→ αδικιας ] της αδικιας 01C 06 018 020 025 044 056 075 0142 0151 35 38 61 90 103 131 142 218 254 256 263 330 365 384 425 454 455 517 582 606 620 629 630 720 858 886 941 999 1101 1115 1127 1241 1311 1352 1354 1390 1409 1448 1456 1524 1573 1609 1661 1678 1751 1798 1830 1890 1899 1908 1912 1918 1935 1943 1945 1947 1950 1961 1969 1973 1976 1977 1987 1991 1995 2000 2002 2003 2102 2104 2105 2127 2138 2197 2248 2298 2482 2492 2516 2523 2558 2576 2674 2772 2805 **Byz**

→ τοις απολλυμενοις ] εν τοις απολλυμενοις 01C 06C 018 020 025 044 056 075 0142 0151 6 35 38 61 88 90 103 104 131 142 203 218 254 256 263 330 365 384 425 436 442 451 454 455 459 506 517 582 606 608 620 629 630 720 858 886 915 941 999 1101 1115 1127 1241 1311 1352 1354 1390 1398 1409V 1448 1456 1524 1573 1609 1661 1678 1751 1798 1830 1838 1845 1867 1881 1890 1899 1908 1910 1918 1935 1942 1943 1945 1947 1950 1961 1962 1969 1973 1976 1977 1984 1985 1987 1991 1995 2000 2002 2003 2004 2102 2104 2105 2127 2138 2197 2248 2298 2400 2482 2492V 2516 2523 2558V 2576 2674 2772 **Byz**

ανθ ων την αγαπην της αληθειας ουκ εδεξαντο εις το σωθηναι αυτους ] om 1910 1943 1991 2002 2482

την αγαπην ] την απατην 2104; lac 2138

της αληθειας ουκ εδεξαντο ] ου και δοξασθαι της αληθειας 1751

της αληθειας ] της αδικιας 1890; lac 2138; + χριστου 06\*; lac 2138

ουκ εδεξαντο ] ουκ εξεδεξαντο 010 012; ουκ εδεξατο 131 1890; ουκ <ill 7 char> 02\*; ου και δοξασθαι 1751; lac 2138

εις το σωθηναι ] lac 2138

αυτους ] om 629; lac 2138

## 2 Thessalonians 2:11

καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πέμπει αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς ἐνέργειαν πλάνης εἰς τὸ πιστεῦσαι αὐτοὺς τῷ  
ψεύδει,

---

Whole verse ] def P30 P92 016 0111 1729 2005 2138 2625 2736; om 1942

→ και δια τουτο ] δια τουτο 06\* 6 941 1739 1751 1881 1910 1969; om 2003

→ πεμπει ] πεμψει 01C 06C 018 020 025 044 056 075 0142 0150 0151 0278 35 38 61  
81 90 103 104 131 142 203 218 254 256 263 365 384 425 436 442 454 455 459 506 517 582  
606 608 620 629 630 720 858 886 941 999 1101 1115 1127 1241 1311 1352 1354 1390 1409  
1448 1456 1524 1573 1609 1661 1678 1751 1798 1830 1838 1845 1867 1899 1908 1910  
1912 1918 1935 1943 1945 1947 1950 1961 1962 1969 1973 1976 1977 1984 1985 1987  
1991 1995 2000 2002 2004 2102 2104 2105 2127 2197 2248 2298 2464 2482 2523 2544  
2558 2576 2674 2772 2805 **Byz**; πεμ[1]ει 2492; om 2003

αυτοις ο θεος ] αυτους ο θεος 61\* 2516; αυτ[2]ς ο θεος 1115; ο θεος αυτοις 1311  
2298; αυτοις 131 886; ο θεος 38 2003

ενεργειαν πλανης ] ενεργειαν της πλανης 1115

εις το πιστευσαι αυτους τω ψευδει ] om 1910

εις το ] lac 2558

πιστευσαι ] ποιησαι 1573; πιστευειν 81; lac 2558

αυτους ] om 010 012 2464 2772; αυτου 90; αυτο[1-2] 384; lac 2558

τω ψευδει ] ψευδει 010; lac 2558



## 2 Thessalonians 2:12

ἵνα κριθῶσιν ἅπαντες οἱ μὴ πιστεύσαντες τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ἀλλὰ εὐδοκήσαντες τῇ ἀδικίᾳ.

---

Whole verse ] def P30 P92 016 0111 1729 2005 2138 2625 2736; om 1942

ινα ] lac 2558

→ ἅπαντες ] παντες **NA28** 03 06 018 020 025 044 056 075 0142 0150 0151 0278 6 35  
61 88 90 103 131 142 254 256 263 365 384 425 436 442 454 455 517 582 606 608 620 629  
630 720 858 886 915 941 999 1101 1115 1241 1311 1354 1390 1398 1409 1448 1456 1524  
1573 1609 1661 1751 1798 1830 1845 1867 1890 1899 1908 1910 1912 1918 1943 1945  
1947 1961 1969 1973 1976 1977 1984 1985 1991 1995 2000 2002 2003 2004 2102 2104  
2105 2127 2197 2248 2298 2464 2482 2523 2576 2674 2772 2805 **Byz**; lac 2558

οι μη ] ει μη 1918; lac 2558

πιστευσαντες ] πιστευοντες 018 1945; πιστευσοντες 104; lac 2558

τη αληθεια ] την αληθειαν 1985

ευδοκησαντες ] ευδοκησαν 1918 2298; ευδοκησαντα 1751; lac 2558

→ τη αδικια ] εν τη αδικια 01C 02 06C 018 020 025 044 075 0142 0150 0151 6 35 81  
90 104 131 142 203 218 254 256 263 365 384C 425 436 442 454 455 459 506 517 582 608  
620 629 630 720 858 886 915 941 1101 1115 1241 1311 1352 1354 1390 1409 1448 1456  
1524 1573 1609 1661 1678 1751 1798 1830 1838 1845 1867 1890 1899 1908 1910 1918  
1935 1943 1945 1947 1950 1961 1962 1969 1973 1976 1977 1984 1987 1991 1995 2002  
2003 2102 2105 2127 2197 2248 2298 2482 2492 2523 2544 2674 2805 **Byz**; εν τη αληθεια  
61 1985; εν τη απωλεια 2000; επι τη αδικια 2004; τη αληθεια 2104\*; τη απωλεια 0278; lac  
2558

## 2 Thessalonians 2:13

Ἡμεῖς δὲ ὀφείλομεν εὐχαριστεῖν τῷ θεῷ πάντοτε περὶ ὑμῶν, ἀδελφοὶ ἠγαπημένοι  
ὑπὸ κυρίου,

---

Whole verse ] def P30 P92 016 0111 1729 2005 2138 2625 2736; om 1942

ἡμεῖς ] υμεῖς 38 1935 1977 2772; om 1838

δε ] γαρ 330 451 1398 2400 2492 2516; om 263 1751

ευχαριστεῖν τῷ θεῷ παντοτε περὶ ὑμῶν ἀδελφοὶ ἠγαπημένοι ὑπο κυρίου ] ἀδελφοὶ  
ἀγαπητοὶ ὑπο κυρίου ευχαριστεῖν τῷ θεῷ παντοτε περὶ ὑμῶν 1661

τῷ θεῷ παντοτε περὶ ὑμῶν ] παντοτε τῷ θεῷ περὶ ἡμῶν 2004; τῷ θεῷ περὶ ὑμῶν  
παντοτε 1739 1881 2105

τῷ θεῷ ] τῷ χριστῷ 1991; τῷ <lac> 2558V

περὶ ] ὑπερ 2544

ὑμῶν ] ἡμῶν 365 1573 2004

ἀδελφοὶ ] om 90 142 384 506 1838 2492

ἠγαπημένοι ] ἡγιασμένοι 104 459; ἡγησάμενοι 1838; ἀγαπητοὶ 1661

→ ὑπο κυρίου ] ὑπο τοῦ κυρίου 01 02 044 61 81 606 1899 1945; ὑπο θεοῦ 06\* 06C2  
1995; τῷ κυρίῳ 2000 2248; ὑπο κυρίῳ 010f 012f; lac 2558

## 2 Thessalonians 2:13 – cont. –

ὅτι εἴλατο ὑμᾶς ὁ θεὸς ἀπαρχὴν εἰς σωτηρίαν ἐν ἁγιασμῷ πνεύματος καὶ πίστει ἀληθείας,

---

→ εἴλατο ] εἴλετο 018 056 0142 0151 0278 6 35 38C 61C 88 90 103 104 131 142 203 254 256 365 384 425 436 442 454 455 459 506 517 582 606 620 629 630 720 858 886 915 941 999 1101 1115 1127 1311 1354 1390 1409 1448 1456 1524 1573 1609 1661 1678 1739 1751 1798 1830 1838 1867 1881 1890 1899 1908C 1910 1918 1935 1943 1947 1950 1961 1962 1969 1973 1976 1977 1984 1985 1987 1991 1995 2000 2002 2003 2004 2102 2104 2105 2127 2197 2298 2482 2523 2544 2558 2576 2674 2772 **Byz**; εἴλ[1]το 2248 2805

υμας ] ημας 01\* 06\* 0150 38 61 218 1352 1354 2000 2104 2248 2516 2674; om 1985 2102

ο θεος ἀπαρχην ] ἀπ ἀρχῆς ο θεος 218 455 886 1352 1961 2104

ο θεος ] ο θεος εαυτω 88 915 1845C; om 38 61\*

→ ἀπαρχην ] ἀπ ἀρχῆς 01 06 018 020 044 056 0142 0150 0151 6 35 38 61\* 88 90 103 104 131 142 203 218 254 330 384 425 436 442 451 454 455 459 506 517 582 606 608 620 629 630 720 858 886 915 941 999 1101 1115 1127 1241 1352 1354 1390 1398 1409 1448 1456 1524 1609 1661 1678 1751 1798 1830 1838 1845 1867 1890 1899 1910 1918 1935 1943 1945 1947 1950 1961 1962 1969 1973 1976 1977 1984 1985 1987 1991 1995 2000 2002 2003 2102 2104 2105 2197 2248 2298 2400 2492 2516 2523 2558 2576 2674 2772 2805 **Byz**; ἀπ ἀρχ[2] 1311 2482; ἀπ[5] 02

σωτηρίαν ἐν ἁγιασμῷ πνεύματος καὶ πίστει ἀληθείας ] om 1890

ἐν ἁγιασμῷ πνεύματος ] ἐν ἁγιασμῷ 075

πίστει ἀληθείας ] πιστεως ἀληθείας 33 131 451 1398 1661 2400 2516

## 2 Thessalonians 2:14

εἰς ὃ καὶ ἐκάλεσεν ὑμᾶς διὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἡμῶν εἰς περιποίησιν δόξης τοῦ κυρίου  
ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

---

Whole verse ] def P30 P92 0111 1729 1890 2005 2138 2625 2736; om 1942

εἰς ο ] εἰς ον 1985 2102; εἰς οἱ 010 012; εἰς ἡν 1409; lac 016

→ καὶ ] om 03 06 018 020 044 056 0142 0151 6 33 35 61\* 90 103 104 131 142 203 254  
384 425 454 455 459 506 517 582 606 608 620 629 630 720 858 915 941 999 1101 1115  
1127 1241 1354 1409 1448 1456 1524 1609 1661 1678 1739 1751 1798 1830 1838 1867  
1881 1899 1908 1910 1918 1935 1943 1947 1950 1961 1962 1969 1973 1976 1984 1985  
1987 1995 2000 2002 2003 2004 2102 2104 2197 2248 2298 2482 2576 2674 2772 **Byz**; lac  
02 016 1991V 2558V

ἐκάλεσεν ] ἐκαλεσαμεν 1985 2102; ἐκαλεσα 38; εὐδοσεν 1409f; lac 016

→ ὑμᾶς ] ἡμᾶς 02 03 06\* 056 0142 38 330 451 1398 1881 1910 1943 1984 1991 1995  
2400 2516\*; lac 016; + ο θεος 104 459 1838; lac 016

διὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ] lac 016

ἡμῶν ] ὑμῶν 01\* 142 506 629 941; αὐτοῦ 720; [1]μῶν 1991; om 33 2674; lac 016

εἰς περιποίησιν ] lac 016; + τῆς 1678; lac 016

ἡμῶν ] ὑμῶν 1311; om 1115

## 2 Thessalonians 2:15

Ἄρα οὖν, ἀδελφοί, στήκετε καὶ κρατεῖτε τὰς παραδόσεις ἃς ἐδιδάχθητε εἴτε διὰ λόγου εἴτε δι' ἐπιστολῆς ἡμῶν.

---

Whole verse ] def P30 P92 0111 1729 1890 2138 2625 2736; om 1942

αρα ουν ] om 2005

αδελφοι ] om 61\*

στηκετε και κρατειτε τας παραδοσεις ] στηκετε κρατειτε τας παραδοσεις 2298 2516; + ημων 06\*; + υμων 33

ας εδιδαχθητε ] ας διδαχθητε 38\*; om 629

ειτε ] om 2003

δια λογου ] δια λογων 131

ειτε δι επιστολης ] ειτε δι επιστολην 2674; ειτε δι επιστολων 1127 2104

ημων ] την εν χριστω ιησου 1985 2102

## 2 Thessalonians 2:16

Αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς καὶ ♦ ὁ θεὸς ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν ὁ ἀγαπήσας  
ἡμᾶς καὶ δοὺς παρακλήσιν αἰωνίαν καὶ ἐλπίδα ἀγαθὴν ἐν χάριτι,

---

Whole verse ] def P30 P92 0111 1729 1890 2138 2625 2736

ημων ] om 256 365 1573 2127

→ ιησους χριστος ] ιησους ο χριστος 02 075 1908 1910; χριστος ιησους 03 1739 1881;  
ιησους 88 915 1830; ιησους <lac> 2558

και ] om 01\* 582 941 1115 2000 2248\*; lac 2558

→ ο θεος ο πατηρ ]<sup>24</sup> ♦ θεος ο πατηρ 03 06\* 33 1739 1881; ο θεος και πατηρ 06C 016  
020 025 044 056 075 0142 0278 6 35 38 61 81 90 103 104 142 203 218 254 263 330 365 384  
425 436 451 454 455 459 506 517 582 606 608 620 629 630 720 858 886 941 999 1101 1127  
1241 1352 1354 1390 1398 1409 1448 1456 1524 1573 1609 1661 1678 1751 1798 1830  
1845 1867 1899 1908 1910 1912 1918 1943 1945 1947 1961 1962 1969 1973 1977 1995  
2000 2002 2004 2104 2105 2127 2197 2248 2298 2400 2464V 2482 2492 2516 2544 2558  
2576 2674 2772 2805 **Byz**; θεος και πατηρ 018 0150 0151 88 131 915 1838 1935 1950 1987  
2523; ο θεος και ο πατηρ 256 1942 1984 1985 2102; ο θεος πατηρ 2003 2005; ο θεος 1976;  
πατηρ 1115

ημων ] om 1935

ο αγαπησας ] ο αγαπων 1573; om 01\*

ημας ] υμας 1354 1661; [1]μας 2492; om 01\* 2248\*

και ] om 2000 2102 2248

δους παρακλησιν αιωνιαν και ελπιδα αγαθην εν χαριτι ] om 1985 2102

δους ] ο δους 2000 2248; διδους 2523; + υμιν 629

αιωνιαν ] αιωνιον 010 012 330 451 606 999 1398 1910 2005 2400 2492 2516; lac  
016

αγαθην ] αγαθας 1918

---

<sup>24</sup> There are multiple correctors for 01: both the first and second occurrences of the article have been marked out; the first article was also restored by a corrector. Since it is difficult to reconstruct the order of the corrections it is also difficult to reconstruct which reading the correctors intended for the whole phrase.

## 2 Thessalonians 2:17

παρακαλέσαι ὑμῶν τὰς καρδίας καὶ στηρίξαι ἐν παντὶ ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ ἀγαθῷ.

---

Whole verse ] def P30 P92 0111 1729 1890 2138 2625 2736; om 1942

<ad init> ] + καὶ δεῖ 1985 2102; + καὶ 442; lac 016

παρακαλεσαι ] παρακαλεση 010 012 999 1912; παρακαλεσει 2104 2464;  
παρακαλεσοι 61\*; παρακαλε[1]σ[2]αι 06\*; παρακαλεσας 0150\*; παρακλησεως 056

→ ὑμων τας καρδιας ] ημων τας καρδιας 018 0151 38 263 365 2400; τας καρδιας  
υμων 01 02V 629 2544

καὶ ] om 1969; lac 016

→ στηριξαι ] στηριξει 1838 1912 2464; στηρειξη 010 012; στηριξοι 61\*; στηριξ[2] 33  
1976; om 1969; lac 016; + υμας 06C 018 020 056 0142 0150 0151 35 61 88 103 131 142  
203 218 254 330 384 425 436 451 454 455 506 517 608 620 630 720 858 886 915 941 999  
1101 1115 1127 1241 1311 1352 1354 1390 1398 1409 1448 1524 1609 1661 1678 1751  
1798 1830 1867 1899 1918 1935 1943 1945 1947 1950 1961 1962 1973 1976 1977 1984  
1985 1987 1991 1995 2000 2003 2004 2102 2105 2197 2248 2298 2400 2482 2492 2516  
2523 2558 2576 2772 **Byz**; lac 016; + ημας 38 90 582 2674; lac 016

ἐν παντι ] παντι 2464; lac 016

→ εργω και λογω αγαθω ] λογω και εργω αγαθω 010 012 018 056 0142 0150 0151 6  
35 38 61 88 90 131 142 203 218 384 425 436 506 517 630 915 941V 999 1101 1115 1127  
1311 1352 1390 1409 1448 1456 1609 1678 1751 1830 1899 1910 1935 1950 1962 1987  
2003 2004 2104 2298 2523 2558 2674 2772 2805 **Byz**; εργω αγαθω και λογω 1985 2102;  
εργω αγαθω 33 1661 1969; lac 016

## 2 Thessalonians 3:1

Τὸ λοιπὸν προσεύχεσθε, ἀδελφοί, περὶ ἡμῶν, ἵνα ὁ λόγος τοῦ κυρίου τρέχῃ καὶ  
δοξάζεται καθὼς καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς,

---

Whole verse ] def P30 P92 016 0111 1729 1890 2138 2625; om 1942

το λοιπον ] λοιπον 010 012; lac 2736

προσευχεσθε αδελφοι περι ημων ] προσευχεσθε περι ημων αδελφοι 06\* 06C<sup>25</sup>  
0278 442 606 1115 1127 1241 1845 1945; προσευχεσθε περι υμων αδελφοι 1311

→ προσευχεσθε αδελφοι ] αδελφοι προσευχεσθε 010 012 629 1678 1739 1881 2005;  
ευχεσθαι αδελφοι 1838; lac 2736

περι ημων ] περι υμων 1311; <ill 4 char> περι ημων 38; περι [1]μων 1961; lac 2736

ινα ο λογος του ] lac 2736

κυριου ] θεου 010 012 025 33 131 1661 1910 2002; χριστου 1881; lac 2736

τρεχη και δοξάζεται ] lac 2736

προς υμας ] προς ημας 2127

---

<sup>25</sup> The difference between 06 and 06C is orthographic.



## 2 Thessalonians 3:2

καὶ ἵνα ῥυσθῶμεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀτόπων καὶ πονηρῶν ἀνθρώπων· οὐ γὰρ πάντων ἡ πίστις.

---

Whole verse ] def P30 P92 016 0111 1729 1890 2138 2625

καὶ ] om 506 1115 1678 1881 1910 2004 2248\* 2492

ατοπων ] απιστων 90 384; om 2674; lac 2492

καὶ ] om 2674

παντων ] παν 915; lac 2492; + εστιν 010 012; lac 2492

η ] lac 2492

πιστις ] lac 2492

## 2 Thessalonians 3:3

Πιστὸς δέ ἐστιν ὁ κύριος, ὃς στηρίζει ὑμᾶς καὶ φυλάξει ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ.

---

Whole verse ] def. P30 P92 016 0111 1729 1890 2138 2625; om. 1942

→ ἐστιν ὁ κύριος ] ἐστιν ὁ θεός 02 06\* 06C2 0151 1912 2464 2805; ὁ κύριος ἐστιν 01\*; ἐστιν ἐν παντί ὁ κύριος 582 620 1918; ὁ θεός 010 012; ὁ κύριος 2298; ἐστιν <lac> 2558V

ος ] οστίς 1973 1985 2102 2197; ὁ 1573; lac 2558; + καὶ 02 0278 61C 256 263 455C 1912 2464 2523

→ στηρίζει<sup>26</sup> ] στηριξαι 582 1115 1127 2005; στηρίζει 61\*; τηρήσει 010 012; στηρι[3] 33; στηρι[1]ει 2464; lac 2558

υμας ] ημας 629 1241 1354; υμων 1398; [1]μας 2464; lac 2558

καὶ ] εἰς τὸ καὶ 1947; om 1661; lac 2558

φυλάξει ] φυλαξαι 1115 1947 2005; φυλαξ[2] 582 1918; om 1661; lac 2558; + υμας 2127

ἀπο τοῦ πονηροῦ ] ἀπο παντός πονηροῦ 2005; lac 2558

---

<sup>26</sup> 03 reads the alternative form of the future, στηρίσει.

## 2 Thessalonians 3:4

πεποιθαμεν δὲ ἐν κυρίῳ ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, ὅτι ἃ παραγγέλλομεν ♦ καὶ ποιεῖτε καὶ ποιήσετε.

---

Whole verse ] def. P30 P92 016 0111 1729 1890 2625; om. 1942

πεποιθαμεν δε εν κυριω εφ υμας ] om 2138

πεποιθαμεν δε ] lac 2558

εν κυριω εφ υμας ] εν χριστω εφ υμας 1867; εν τω κυριω εφ υμας 1947; εν κυριω εφ ημας 1918; εν κυριω προς υμας 506; εν κυριω εις υμας 606; εφ υμας αδελφοι εν κυριω 629; υμας εν κυριω 1311; lac 2558

οτι ] οπως μη 1985 2102; lac 025 2558

α ] τα 1409; om 1985 2102; lac 025 2558

→ παραγγελλομεν ] παραγγελλομεν υμιν 02 06C 010 012 018 020 025V 056 075 0142 0150 0151 0278 35 38 61 81 88 90 103 104 131 142 203 218 254 256 263 330 365 384 425 436 442 451 454 455C 459 506 517 582 606 608 620 630 720 858 915 941 999 1101 1115 1127 1241 1311 1352 1354 1390 1398 1448 1456 1524 1609 1661 1678 1751 1798 1830 1838 1845 1867 1881 1899 1908 1912 1918 1935 1943 1945 1950 1962 1973 1976 1977 1985 1987 1991 1995 2002 2003 2004 2005 2102 2104 2105 2127 2138 2197 2248 2298 2400 2464 2482 2492 2516 2523 2544 2576 2674 2736 2772 2805 **Byz**; παραγγελλομεν ημιν 1573; παρηγγελημεν υμιν 2000; παραγγελλομενα υμιν 1409; υμιν παραγγελλομεν 629; lac 2558

→ και ποιεите και ποιησετε ] ♦ ποιεите και ποιησετε 01\* 02 6 218 629 1661 1678 1739 1881; και ποιεите και ποιησατε 38 131 1573 1838; ποιεите και ποιησατε 06\*; και εποιησατε και ποιεите 010 012; και εποιησατε και ποιεите και ποιησετε 03; και ποιεите 90 384 1390 1867 1912; και ποιησατε 941; ει τε και ποιησητε 2102; ειτε και ποιησατε 1985; απο ει τε και ποιησετε 2674f; και ποιεите και ποιησ[1]τε 1977 2127; και ποιεите και ποιησ[3] 2492 2736; και <lac> [5-6]τε 025; και <lac> [3]ησ[1]τε 2558

## 2 Thessalonians 3:5

Ὁ δὲ κύριος κατευθύναι ὑμῶν τὰς καρδίας εἰς τὴν ἀγάπην τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν ὑπομονὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

---

Whole verse ] def. P30 P92 016 0111 1729 1890 2625; om. 1942

ο δε κυριος ] ο δε θεος 454 620 1910 1918; ο κυριος δε 629; δε κυριος 506; ο δε <lac> 2558

κατευθυναι ] κατευθυνει 131 365 1912 1985 1991 2102 2464; κατευθυνη 010 012 0278; κατευθυνεται 1573; lac 2558

υμων τας καρδιας ] ημων τας καρδιας 012\* 131 1943 1962 2138 2464; τας καρδιας υμων 06; [1]μων τας καρδιας 2558; τας καρδιας και τα σωματα υμων 629

εις την αγαπην του θεου ] εις την αγαπην 1448C; om 1448\*

και ] om 1448\* 2000 2248\*

εις ] om 1751

χριστου ] κυριου 2004

## 2 Thessalonians 3:6

Παραγγέλλομεν δὲ ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί, ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ  
στελλεσθαι ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ παντὸς ἀδελφοῦ ἀτάκτως περιπατοῦντος καὶ μὴ κατὰ τὴν  
παράδοσιν ἣν παρελάβοσαν παρ' ἡμῶν.

---

Whole verse ] def. P30 P92 016 0111 1729 1890 2625

παραγγέλλομεν ] παραγγελλω 0142 131; παρηγγελλη 2000 2248\*

δε ὑμιν ἀδελφοι ἐν ὀνοματι τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ στελλεσθαι ὑμας ἀπο  
παντος ἀδελφου ἀτακτως περιπατούντος καὶ μὴ κατὰ τὴν παραδοσιν ἣν παρελάβοσαν παρ  
ἡμῶν ] om 218

δε ] om 256 365 629 1115 1573 1751 2127

υμιν ] υμας 1985 2102; om 1751

ἀδελφοι ] om 1751 1838

→ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ] κυρίου ἡμῶν ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ 010 012 0278 38 1115  
2005 2138; τοῦ κυρίου ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ 03 06\*; ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ 131

υμας ] εἰς υμας 38; om 131 142 999 1976

παντος ] παντως 38

ἀτακτως περιπατούντος ] περιπατούντος ἀτακτως 06 629; ἀτακτως περιπατοῦντες  
010; ἀτακτως περὶ παντος 0150\* 1573; ἀτακτως περιπατοῦντας 1661; ἀτακτως  
περιπατοῦντα 1985; ἀτακτως περιπατοῦν[1-3] 2558

ἣν ] ἡ 010 012

→ παρελάβοσαν ] παρελαβον 01C 06C 018 020 025 044 056 075 0142 0150 0151 6 35  
38 61 81 90 103 104 203 254 256 263 330 365 384 425 451 454 455 459 506 517 606 629  
630 720 858 886 915 941 999 1101 1115 1127 1241 1352 1354 1390 1398 1409 1448 1456  
1524 1573 1609 1661 1678 1739 1798 1830 1838 1867 1881 1899 1908 1910 1935 1943  
1945 1947 1950 1961 1969 1973 1976 1977 1984 1985 1987 1991 1995 2000 2003 2004  
2102 2104 2105 2127 2197 2248 2298 2492 2516 2523 2544 2558V 2576 2674 2736 2772  
**Byz**; παρελαβετε 03 010 012 131 142 436 442 582 620 1912 1918 2005 2138 2464 2805;  
ελαβοσαν 06\*; περελαβον 1311; παρελαβεν 1942 1962 2002 2482; παρελαβο[1-3] 608;  
παρελα[2-4] 2400; lac 6

→ παρ ἡμῶν ] παρ ὑμῶν 629 858 941 1311 2248; ἀφ ἡμῶν 03 104 459 630 1838; παρ  
ἡμιν 2400; om 1977

## 2 Thessalonians 3:7

Αὐτοὶ γὰρ οἶδατε πῶς δεῖ μιμεῖσθαι ἡμᾶς, ὅτι οὐκ ἠτακτήσαμεν ἐν ὑμῖν

---

Whole verse ] def. P30 P92 016 0111 1729 1890 2625; om. 218 1942

πῶς δεῖ μιμεῖσθαι ] πῶς μιμεῖσθαι 2127

ἡμας ] υμας 582 941 2492 2516 2558

ἠτακτησαμεν ] ἠπατησαμεν 1409; ἠτακτησ[2]εν 61\*

εν ] παρ 025; om 33 999

## 2 Thessalonians 3:8

οὐδὲ δωρεὰν ἄρτον ἐφάγομεν παρά τινος, ἀλλ' ἐν κόπῳ καὶ μόχθῳ ♦ νυκτὸς καὶ  
ἡμέρας ἐργαζόμενοι πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐπιβαρῆσαί τινα ὑμῶν·

---

Whole verse ] def. P30 P92 0111 1890 2625; om. 218 1942

ουδε δωρεαν αρτον εφαγομεν παρα τινος ] om 1729

ουδε ] ουτε 010 012; ο δε 1573C; lac 016 1573\*

δωρεαν ] lac 016

→ αρτον εφαγομεν ] αρτον ελαβομεν 056 0142 90 330 384 451 630 999 1115 1390  
1398 1448 1867 2400 2492 2516 2558 2674; εφαγομεν αρτον 61 1845; αρτου εφαγομεν  
1985 2102; αρτων εφαγομεν 1352

παρα ] lac 2772

τινος ] τινι 2544; lac 025 2772

αλλ ] lac 016 2772

εν ] om 1830; lac 016 2772

κοπω και μοχθω ] lac 2772

→ νυκτος και ημερας ] ♦ νυκτα και ημεραν 02 06 018 020 025 044 056 0142 0150 0151  
6 35 38 61 88 90 103 131 142 203 254 330 384 425 436 451 454 455 506 517 582 606 620  
629 720 858 886 915 941 999 1101 1115 1127 1241 1311 1352 1354 1390 1398 1409 1448  
1456 1524 1609 1661 1678 1739 1751V 1798 1867 1881 1899 1910 1918 1935 1943 1945  
1947 1950 1961 1962 1973 1976 1977 1984 1985 1987 1991 1995 2000 2002 2003 2004  
2102 2104 2105 2197 2248 2298 2400 2482 2492 2516 2523 2558V 2674 2736 **Byz**; νυκτα  
και ημερας 630 1830 1969 2576; νυκτα και ημ[4] 016 608; lac 2772

εργαζομενοι ] εργαζομενος 630 1985 1991 2102; lac 2772

προς το ] lac 2772

μη ] om 1976\* 1984\*; lac 2772

επιβαρησαι ] lac 2772

τινα ] τι 1985 2102; lac 2772

υμων ] περι υμων 1985; περι ημων 2102; lac 2772

## 2 Thessalonians 3:9

οὐχ ὅτι οὐκ ἔχομεν ἐξουσίαν, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἑαυτοὺς τύπον δῶμεν ὑμῖν εἰς τὸ μιμεῖσθαι ἡμᾶς.

---

Whole verse ] def. P30 P92 0111 1890 2625 2772; om. 218 1942

οὐκ εχομεν εξουσιαν ] εξουσιαν ουκ εχομεν 2674

εαυτους τυπον ] τυπον εαυτους 056 0142 1838; εαυτοις τυπον 1311; εαυτ[2-3]  
τυπον 1947\*

δωμεν υμιν ] υμιν δωμεν 1678

δωμεν ] ωμεν 1985 2102; διδωμεν 1115; δι[4-6] 016

υμιν ] αυτους 0142\*; αυτος 0142C; εν υμιν 1751; om 1739 1881; + ειμι 1311

εις το μιμεισθαι ] om 1918

ημας ] υμας 0151 630\* 1115 1398 2104 2482 2516 2558; om 1918



## 2 Thessalonians 3:10

καὶ γὰρ ὅτε ἤμεν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, τοῦτο παρηγγέλλομεν ὑμῖν, ὅτι εἴ τις οὐ θέλει  
ἐργάζεσθαι μηδὲ ἐσθιέτω.

---

Whole verse ] def. P30 P92 0111 1890 2625 2772; om. 218 1942

καὶ γὰρ ὅτε ἡμεν πρὸς ὑμᾶς τοῦτο παρηγγέλλομεν ὑμῖν ] om 1918

καὶ γὰρ ὅτε ἡμεν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ] om 915 1398

ὅτε ] ὅταν 1977

ἡμεν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ] πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἡμεν 33 2005 2138; ἡμεν πρὸς ἡμᾶς 38 1729; ἡμῶν  
πρὸς ὑμᾶς 582

τοῦτο παρηγγέλλομεν ὑμῖν ] τοῦτο παρηγγειλάμεν ὑμῖν 010C 012 044 263 442  
1739 1881 2000 2127; παρηγγέλλομεν ὑμῖν 01\*; παρηγγέλλομεν ὑμῖν τοῦτο 2104

εἰ ] lac 016 1311\*

τις ] lac 016

οὐ ] μὴ 06\*V 06C2; lac 016

θέλει ] τελει 90\*; lac 016

μηδε ] μὴ 858; lac 016

ἐσθιέτω ] lac 016

## 2 Thessalonians 3:11

Ακούομεν γάρ τινας περιπατοῦντας ἐν ὑμῖν ἀτάκτως μηδὲν ἐργαζομένους ἀλλὰ περιεργαζομένους·

---

Whole verse ] def. P30 P92 016 0111 1890 2625 2772; om. 218

γάρ ] δε 1881

→ τινας περιπατουντας εν υμιν ατακτως ] τινας εν υμιν ατακτως περιπατουντας 075 104 256 263 365 436 442 459V 1573 1678 1838 1845 1908 2127 2523; τινας εν υμιν περιπατουντας ατακτως 06 61C; τινας περιπατουντας εν υμιν ατακτους 1991 2105\*; τινας περιπατουντας ατακτως 61\*; τινας περιπατουντας εν υμιν 6; εν υμιν τινας ατακτως περιπατουντας 0278; εν υμιν τινας περιπατουντας 1739 1881

αλλα ] αλλα και 2298; om 075 0151 582 1409 1845\* 1908 2674; lac 2558

περιεργαζομενους ] om 075 0151 582 1409 1845\* 1908 2674; lac 2558

## 2 Thessalonians 3:12

τοῖς δὲ τοιούτοις παραγγέλλομεν καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν ἐν κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, ἵνα  
μετὰ ἡσυχίας ἐργαζόμενοι τὸν ἑαυτῶν ἄρτον ἐσθίωσιν.

---

Whole verse ] def. P30 P92 016 0111 1890 2625 2772; om. 1942

τοῖς δε τοιουτοις παραγγελλομεν ] om 218

τοῖς δε τοιουτοις ] τοῖς τοιουτοις 104 459 1838 2000 2248\*; τοὺς δε τοιουτους 06\*;  
lac 2558

παραγγελλομεν ] lac 2558

και παρακαλουμεν εν κυριω ιησου χριστω ] εν κυριω ιησου χριστου και  
παρακαλουμεν 1838

και παρακαλουμεν ] om 203 506 1976; lac 2558

→ εν κυριω ιησου χριστω ] εν κυριω ιησου 025; δια του κυριου ημων ιησου χριστου  
01C 06C 018 020 056 075 0142 0150 0151 6 35 38 61 90 131 142 218 254 330 384 425 442  
451 454 455C 517 582 606 608 620 629 630 720 886C 941 1101 1115 1127 1241 1311 1352  
1354 1390 1398 1409 1448 1456 1524 1609 1661 1678 1729 1751 1830 1867 1908 1943  
1945 1947 1962 1969 1976C 1977 1991 1995 2000 2002 2003 2004 2104 2105 2248 2298  
2400 2482 2492 2516 2523 2558V 2674 2736 **Byz**; δια του κυριου ιησου χριστου 044 2005  
2138; δια του κυριου ημων ιησου 1899; δια του κυριου ημων χριστου 999; μεσιτην  
παραλαμβανοντες τον χριστον 103 455\* 858 1935 1950 1961 1973 1984 1985 1987 2102  
2197; om 886\* 1798 1918; lac 1573\* 1976\*

ινα μετα ησυχιας ] ινα μετα 2105\*; ησυχιας 1918o; om 1985 2102; lac 1573\* 2558

εργαζομενοι ] lac 1573\*

τον εαυτων αρτον ] τον αυτων αρτον 1241V; lac 1573\*

εσθιωσιν ] εσθιων 1935; lac 1573\*

## 2 Thessalonians 3:13

Ὑμεῖς δέ, ἀδελφοί, μὴ ἐγκακήσητε καλοποιοῦντες.

---

Whole verse ] def. P30 P92 016 0111 1890 2625 2772

υμεις ] ημεις 61 1127; lac 1961 2558

δε ] om 90 1985 2102; lac 1961 2558

αδελφοι ] lac 1961

μη ] lac 1961

→ εγκακησητε ] εκκακησητε 06C 010 012 018 020 025 044 056 075 0142 0150 0151  
0278 6 33 35 38 81 88 90 103 104 131 142 203 218 254 256 263 330 365 384 425 436 442  
451 454 455 459 506 517 582 606 608 620 629 630 720 858 886 915 941 999 1101 1115  
1127 1241 1311 1352 1354 1390 1398 1409 1448 1456 1524 1573S 1609 1661 1678 1729  
1739 1751 1798 1830 1838 1845 1867 1881 1899 1910 1912 1918 1935 1942 1943 1945  
1947C 1950 1961 1969 1973 1976 1977 1984 1985 1987 1991 1995 2000 2002 2003 2004  
2005 2102 2104 2105 2127 2138 2197 2248 2298 2400 2464 2482 2492 2516 2523 2544  
2558 2576 2674 2736 2805 **Byz**; εγκακειτε 06\*; εγκακησατε 61\*; εκκακη[2] 1947\*

→ καλοποιοουντες ] καλον ποιουντες 010 012 0150 608 2005 2805; το καλον ποιουντες  
442 506 1910; κακοποιοουντες 1881 1985 2102; αγαθα ποιουντες 1409; καλο[9-10] 1961;  
καλλ[10-11] 2558

## 2 Thessalonians 3:14

Εἰ δέ τις οὐχ ὑπακούει τῷ λόγῳ ἡμῶν διὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς,

---

Whole verse ] def. P30 P92 016 0111 1573\* 2625 2772; om. 1942

εἰ δε τις ] εἰ δε 1985 2102; εἰ δε τι 018; lac 1890

ουχ υπακουει τω λογω ημων ] τω λογω ημων ουχ υπακουει 1573S

ουχ ] lac 1890

υπακουει ] επακουει 2104; [2]ακουει 02; [3]κουει 941 2558; lac 1890

τω λογω ] τον λογον 1729; lac 1890

→ ημων ] υμων 03 0150 38 61 81 142 263 455 506 517 582 620 720 858 1524C 1729  
1918 1947 1961 1976 1977 1984 1985 1995 2102 2464 2576; om 384\*; lac 1890

δια ] lac 1890 2558

της ] om 010 012 608 1661 1995 2544; lac 1890 2558

επιστολης ] lac 1890

## 2 Thessalonians 3:14 – cont. –

τοῦτον σημειοῦσθε μὴ συναναμίγνυσθαι αὐτῷ, ἵνα ἐντραπῇ·

---

τουτον ] τουτο 0151 38 1838 2000 2558; τον τοιουτον 075 1908 2004; om 1910; lac 1890

σημειουσθε ] om 1910; lac 1890; + και 06\* 06C2 010 012 018 020 025 056 075 0142 0150 0151 0278 6 35 38 61 81 88 90 103 104 131 142 203 218 254 256 263 330 384 425 436 442 451 454 455 459 506 517 582 606 608 620 629 630 720 858 886 915 941 999 1101 1115 1127 1241 1311 1352 1354 1390 1398 1409 1448 1456 1524 1573S 1609 1661 1678 1729 1751 1798 1830 1838 1845 1867 1890 1899 1908 1912 1918 1935 1943 1945 1947 1950 1961 1962 1969 1973 1977 1984 1985 1987 1991 1995 2000 2002 2003 2004 2005 2102 2104 2105 2127 2138 2197 2248 2298 2400 2464 2482 2492 2516 2523 2544 2558 2576 2674 2736 2805 **Byz**

μη συναναμιγνυσθαι αυτω ινα εντραπη ] om 365

→ μη συναναμιγνυσθαι ] μη συναναμιγνυσθε 06C 018 020 025 056 075 0142 0150 0151 35 38 61\* 61C 90 103 104 131 142 203 218 254 256 263 330 384 425 436 442 451 455 459 506 517 582 606 608 620 629 630 720 858 886 915 941 1101 1115 1127 1241 1311 1352 1390 1398 1409 1448 1456 1524 1573S 1609 1661 1678 1729 1739 1798 1830 1838 1845 1867 1881 1890 1899 1908 1910 1912 1918 1935 1943 1945 1947 1950 1961 1962 1969 1973 1976 1977 1984 1985 1987 1991 1995 2000 2002 2003 2004 2005 2105 2127 2138 2197 2248 2298 2400 2482 2492 2516 2523 2544 2558V 2576 2674 2736 2805 **Byz**

αυτω ινα εντραπη ] om 1573S

αυτω ] αυτον 999 2464; αυτου 1115; αυτοις 1838

ινα ] om 1910

εντραπη ] εντραπωσιν 1838; om 1910

## 2 Thessalonians 3:15

καὶ μὴ ὡς ἐχθρὸν ἡγεῖσθε, ἀλλὰ νουθετεῖτε ὡς ἀδελφόν.

---

Whole verse ] def. P30 P92 016 0111 1573\* 2625 2772; om. 1942

καὶ μὴ ὡς ἐχθρον ἡγεισθε ] om 1573S

→ καὶ μὴ ] μὴ 06\* 6 1739 1881; lac 2558; + δε 1969; lac 2558

ὡς ] om 61\* 606; lac 2558

→ ἡγεισθε ] ἡγεισθαι 06\* 010 012 0278 81 365 506 1311 1729 1751 1935 1950\* 2464;  
ἡγεισθε αὐτον 629 1115; αὐτον ἡγεισθε 61; ἡγεισθ[1] 020\*; ηγ[5-6] 33

ἀλλὰ νουθετεῖτε ] ἀλλὰ νουθετεῖτε αὐτον 61 2127

ὡς ἀδελφον ] ὡς ἀδελφοι 1918; lac 2558

## 2 Thessalonians 3:16

Αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ κύριος τῆς εἰρήνης δώη ὑμῖν τὴν εἰρήνην διὰ παντὸς ἐν παντὶ τρόπῳ. ὁ κύριος μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν.

---

Whole verse ] def P30 P92 016 0111 1573\* 2625 2772; om 1942

αυτος ] αυτω 425

δε ] om 1918

→ ο κυριος της ειρηνης ] ο θεος της ειρηνης 010 012 020 88 103 203 254V 455 506 608 629 858 886 915 1241 1524 1798 1830 1867 1912 1935 1943 1947 1950 1961 1973 1976 1977 1984 1985 1987 1991 1995 2000 2002 2102 2104 2105 2197 2248 2298 2464 2482 2576\* 2805; της ειρηνης ο κυριος 720

δωη ] δω 38\* 1739 1881

υμιν ] ημιν 1573S 2805; [1]μιν 1409; lac 2558

→ την ] om 02 6 61 1739 1881 2138; lac 2558

→ δια παντος εν παντι τροπω ] εν παντι τροπω 103 451 608 1398 1661 1881 1995 2400 2516; δια παντος εν παντι τοπω 02\* 06\* 010 012 33V 2105 2544; δια παντος εν παντι προσωπω 90 384; εν παντι τοπω δια παντος 1115; εν παντι τροπω δια παντος 2482; εν τι τροπω 330

υμων ] ημων 330 451 1311 1398 2102 2400 2516; om 38\*; lac 459 1947; + αμην 263 1661; lac 1947



## 2 Thessalonians 3:17

Ο άσπασμός τῇ ἐμῇ χειρὶ Παύλου, ὃ ἐστὶν σημεῖον ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιστολῇ· οὕτως γράφω.

---

Whole verse ] def P30 P92 016 0111 1573\* 2625 2772

ο ] lac 720

ἐμῇ χειρὶ ] lac 2558

ο ἐστὶν σημεῖον ] om 1908

ο ] ος 044 0150 81; lac 459

ἐστὶν ] ἐστὶ 1751; lac 459

ἐν ] om 1354 1910

πάσῃ ] om 1354; + τῇ 582

οὕτως γράφω ] οὕτως γράφων 33 608ο; τοῦτο γράφω οὕτως 2105

## 2 Thessalonians 3:18

Ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν.

---

Whole verse ] def P30 P92 016 0111 1573\* 2625 2772

<ad init> ] + ο κυριος μετα παντων υμιν 38f

η ] η γαρ 1573S; lac 459

ημων ] om 010 012; lac 2464

ιησου χριστου ] lac 2464

μετα παντων υμων ] om 38

παντων ] om 620

υμων ] ημων 2516; [1]μων 254

→ υμων ] + αμην 01C 02 06 010 012 018 020 025 044 056 075 0142 0150 0151 35 38  
61 81 88 90 103 104 131 142 203 218 254 256 263 330 365 384 425 436 442 451 454 455  
459 506 517 582 606 620 629 630 720 858 886 915 941 999 1101 1115 1127 1241 1311  
1352 1354 1390 1398 1409 1448 1456 1524 1573S 1609 1661 1678 1729 1751 1798 1830  
1838 1845 1867 1881C 1890 1899 1908 1912 1935 1942 1943 1945 1947 1950 1961 1962  
1973 1976 1977 1984 1985 1987 1991 1995 2000 2002 2003 2004 2005 2102 2104 2105  
2127 2138 2197 2248 2298 2400 2482 2492 2516 2523 2544 2576 2674 2736 2805 **Byz**

## → Subscriptio

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Whole verse ] def. P30 P92 016 056 0111 131 630 1573 1910 1918 1977 2000 2104  
2625 2772; om. 0142 38 61 103 254 263 365 454 455 582 606 608 620 629 720 858 886 941  
1115 1354 1448 1609 1661 1751 1798 1867 1881 1890 1910 1935 1943 1945 1950 1961  
1969 1973 1976 1984 1985 1987 1991 1995 2002 2005 2105 2127 2138 2197 2400 2464  
2482 2492 2516 2523 2544 2576 2674

προς θεσσαλονικεις β 01 03 044 33

προς θεσσαλονικεις β εγγραφη απο αθηνων 02 03C 018 025 075 0150 0151 0278  
218 256 442 517 1352f 1409 1830 1845C 1908 1942 1962 2003 2298

προς θεσσαλονικεις β εγγραφη απο ρωμης 1845\* 1912

προς θεσσαλονικεις β επιστολη εγγραφη απο αθηνων 88 425 915 1390

προς θεσσαλονικεις β επιστολη εγγραφη απο ρωμης 1678

προς θεσσαλονικεις β και πρωτη επιστολη εγγραφη απο αθηνων 384

προς θεσσαλονικεις β εγγραφη απο αθηνων υπο παυλου και σιλουανου και  
τιμοθεου 81

προς θεσσαλονικεις β εγγραφη και αυτη απο αθηνων εκ προσωπου παυλου και  
σιλουανου και τιμοθεου 459

προς θεσσαλονικεις β επληρωθη 06

ετελεσθη προς θεσσαλονι β 010 012

εγγραφη απο αθηνων 436 1729 2004

εγγραφη απο ρωμης 6 35 1101 1899

εγγραφη αυτη απο ρωμη 1127

εγγραφη απο ρωμης η προς θεσσαλονικεις β επιστολη 2736

τελος της προς θεσσαλονικεις β επιστολης 1947 2248

τελος της προς θεσσαλονικεις β επιστολης εγγραφη απο αθηνων 1456

τελος της προς θεσσαλονικεις β επιστολης εγγραφη απο ρωμης 506

τελος της προς θεσσαλονικεις β επιστολης εγγραφη απ[3-4] 203

## **Subscriptio – cont. –**

τελος της προς θεσσαλονικεις β επιστολης γραφει απο 142

τελος παυλου αποστολου επιστολης προς θεσσαλονικεις β ητις εγραφη απο  
αθηνων 330 451 1398

τελος της επιστολης προς θεσσαλονικεις β εγραφη απο αθηνων 1739

τελος της προς θεσσαλονικης β επιστολης παυλου του χριστου αμην 2102

τελος της επιτομης εις προς θεσσαλονικεις β εγραφη δε η επιστολη απο ρωμης  
1524

τελος προς θεσσαλονικεις β εγραφη απο αθηνων εκ προσωπου παυλου και  
σιλουανου και τιμοθεου 1838

η προς θεσσαλονικεις β εγραφη απο αθηνων 1311

η προς θεσσαλονικεις β και πρωτη επιστολη απο αθηνων 90

η προς θεσσαλονικεις εγραφη απο ρωμης 999

η παρουσα προς θεσσαλονικεις επιστολης β εγραφη απο αθηνων 1241

παυλου αποστολου επιστολη προς θεσσαλονικεις β εγραφη απο αθηνων 2805

του αγιου αποστολου παυλου προς θεσσαλονικεις επιστολη β εγραφη απο αθηνων  
020 104

αυτη η προς θεσσαλονικεις β επιστολη εγραφη απο αθηνων 2558



## CHAPTER 3

### COMMENTARY

In the following chapter I will provide a textual commentary on the text of 2 Thessalonians based on selected variant readings. The primary purpose of this commentary is to offer the rationale for my selections for the editorial text in the previous chapter—a text which I believe to be the “earliest attainable.”<sup>1</sup> A secondary and related purpose is to trace how select variants arose in the textual tradition and thus give the reader a sense of the emendations and variations which occurred throughout the textual transmission of 2 Thessalonians. Variation units selected for this commentary have been chosen either because of their relatively strong case for being the earliest reading or because they provide insight into the transmission or critical editions of 2 Thessalonians.

In the commentary that follows, the editorial text is cited as a heading for each new variation unit under discussion. I have adopted the rating system of Wasserman, which was also recently used by Solomon.<sup>2</sup> Thus, included with each variation unit heading is one of the symbols defined below:<sup>3</sup>

- |       |   |
|-------|---|
| {e+i} | External and internal evidence unequivocally support the adopted variant reading.   |
| {e>i} | External evidence favors the adopted variant reading, whereas internal evidence is ambiguous.   |
| {e<i} | External evidence is ambiguous, whereas internal evidence favors the adopted variant reading.   |
| {e=i} | External and internal evidence are balanced or, alternatively, external evidence favors one variant reading, internal evidence another. |

The advantage of this rating system is that a reader can get a sense of the rationale behind each text-critical decision at a glance. When citing text-critical editions and commentaries I

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<sup>1</sup> For a description of the type of text I am trying to reconstruct see Chapter 1, “Introduction,” 9–13.

<sup>2</sup> Tommy Wasserman, *The Epistle of Jude: Its Text and Transmission* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 2006), 234–36; S. Matthew Solomon, “The Textual History of Philemon” (Ph.D. diss., New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary, 2014), 534.

<sup>3</sup> The definitions are word-for-word those of Wasserman (*The Epistle of Jude*, 236).

have used abbreviations, for which the reader can refer to the front matter of this thesis.

When versional evidence has been employed, I have made use of NA28 and the abbreviations therein. “Byz” is utilized to indicate the text of the Byzantine tradition, which is determined by the majority of the “pure” Byzantine manuscripts that were selected for this thesis, namely, 35, 517, 999, 1354, and 1609.<sup>4</sup> Unless otherwise noted, the reader can assume that Byz also represents the majority of manuscripts in my edition. On occasion, I have used *pc* (*pauci*), *al* (*alii*), and *pm* (*permulti*) to indicate respectively that fewer than ten, ten to forty-five, or more than forty-five manuscripts support the reading in question in addition to those cited individually in the commentary. I have also, when appropriate, utilized the two following symbols alongside variation unit headings:

- ◆ As in the ECM, this symbol indicates that the evidence is inconclusive as to which reading is the earliest. The reading in the critical text and head of the variation unit is only cited for convenience and is as likely the earliest as the other reading(s) with ◆ in the apparatus.
- † This symbol indicates that the reading I have selected as the earliest differs from NA28.

As for my pattern in listing manuscripts in the commentary, I have consistently cited Byz and the twelve manuscripts with the highest pregenealogical agreement with the editorial text (namely, 01 02 03 025 6 81 203 256 436 1845 1912 2805). I have also consistently included several manuscripts which have been deemed to have a particular value by textual critics (06 010 012 33 1739 1881).<sup>5</sup> When these manuscripts are not explicitly cited in the commentary (or the accompanying footnotes), the reader can safely assume that they agree with the editorial text. Other than these patterns, manuscripts are cited as needed and it is

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<sup>4</sup> For details on how these manuscripts were selected see Chapter 1, “Introduction,” 8 n. 27.

<sup>5</sup> These manuscripts are among NA28’s “consistently cited witnesses.” They are also listed in either category I or II in Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, *The Text of the New Testament* (trans. by Erroll F. Rhodes; 2d ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989), 159–162 (though 012 is category III). On their importance see also the comments in Bruce M. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration* (3d ed.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 42–66 and D. C. Parker, *An Introduction to the New Testament Manuscripts and Their Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 256–262.

recommended that readers consult the apparatus if they would like to view the complete manuscript data.

Throughout the commentary the reader may notice substantial interaction with NA28. This interaction is due to NA28's status as the most popular edition within the academic community. On more than one occasion, I point out where I think NA28 should have included a variation unit when it did not or places where it should have left out a variation unit which it included. These criticisms are minor and are not intended to detract from what this great edition has accomplished. Indeed, my respect for NA28 has only increased as a result of this thesis.

### **Inscription**

In his study of the inscriptions and subscriptions of the New Testament, David Champagne concluded that “scribes generally expanded the superscription [= inscription] and subscription over time.”<sup>6</sup> According to Champagne these expansions typically included the same common elements, namely, genre, authorial, provenance, reverential, and initial/terminal modifiers.<sup>7</sup> For 2 Thessalonians specifically, he notes that it includes “a large number of singular readings.” All of these observations are affirmed by the inscription data available in this thesis.

The earliest text, of course, did not include an inscription. Nevertheless, the earliest detectable inscription in the data is likely πρὸς θεσσαλονικεῖς β, which is read by the earliest and best manuscripts (01 02 03 06 6 33 81 436 1912 *al*). The Byzantine tradition is split with two manuscripts (517 1354) reading πρὸς θεσσαλονικεῖς β, one manuscript (35) reading πρὸς θεσσαλονικεῖς β ἐπιστολή, one (1609) reading πρὸς θεσσαλονικεῖς β ἐπιστολῆς, and

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<sup>6</sup> David Champagne, “Scribal Habits within the Superscription and Subscription Traditions of Greek New Testament Manuscripts” (Ph.D. diss., New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary), 432.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 400–425. Cf. Linnea Arvedal, “The Subscriptions of 1 Timothy: An Investigation of Their Traditions and Development” (Bachelor Diss., Örebro School of Theology, 2016), 6, 21–29.



one (999) reading πρὸς θεσσαλονικεῖς β ἐπιστολὴ παύλου. Other readings among my consistently cited witnesses are ἄρχετ[αι] πρὸς θεσσαλονι (012), ἄρχεται πρὸς θεσσαλονικαίων (010), τοῦ ἁγίου αποστόλου παύλου πρὸς θεσσαλονικεῖς β ἐπιστολὴ (203), ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς θεσσαλονικεῖς β παύλου (1739), παύλου ἀποστόλου πρὸς ἐπιστολὴ β πρὸς θεσσαλονικεῖς (2805), and παύλου ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς θεσσαλονικεῖς (1881). I also count twenty-three singular readings. These readings seem mostly to be the product of the different possible combinations of the modifiers mentioned above. A significant number of commentary manuscripts lack an inscription for the text of 2 Thessalonians proper, though they often include an inscription for the hypothesis or the commentary itself.

## 2 Thessalonians 1:1

ἐν θεῷ {e+i}

Only 01 and a few other manuscripts (056 0142 2558) add καί after ἐν θεῷ. Although the combination θεὸς καὶ πατήρ (variously declined) occurs regularly in Paul,<sup>8</sup> it never does so in the initial greetings of his letters.<sup>9</sup> And the extended θεὸς καὶ πατήρ ἡμῶν καί—which this variant would produce—occurs only one other time in the New Testament, though indeed in 2 Thess 3:11. Nevertheless, the addition of καί appears to be a superficial harmonization to Pauline usage elsewhere with deeper analysis showing that it actually deviates from Paul’s typical practice in his greetings.<sup>10</sup> Both external and internal evidence, therefore, support ἐν θεῷ.

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<sup>8</sup> Cf. Rom 15:6; 1 Cor 15:24; 2 Cor 1:3 (health wish not initial greeting); 11:31; Gal 1:4; Eph 1:3; 4:6; 5:20; Phil 4:20; 1 Thess 1:3; 3:11, 13.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. 1 Cor 1:3; 2 Cor 1:2; Gal 1:1, 3; Eph 1:2; Phil 1:2; Col 1:2–3; 1 Thess 1:1; 2 Thess 1:1–2; 1 Tim 1:2; 2 Tim 1:2; Titus 1:4; Phlm 1:3.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Metzger’s comments on harmonizations in his *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (2d ed.; Stuttgart: Deutsch-Bibelgesellschaft, 1994), 13. My use of “superficial” is an adaptation of Metzger’s language.

κυρίω Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ {e+i}

Multiple variants occur in the manuscript tradition for this unit. The reading κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ is supported by our best and earliest manuscripts as well by the intrinsic and transcriptional evidence. The alternative readings, namely, Χριστοῦ (0150 620 1912 1969) and κυρίου (365 608 1573 1912 2127 2625), were likely editorial or accidental assimilations to the nearby Ἰησοῦ, which is identical in the dative and the genitive. Also against the former of these two readings is that fact that the dative κυρίῳ is never followed by the genitive phrase Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ in the New Testament while κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ is consistent with Paul's usage in both 1 Thess 1:1 and 2 Thess 3:12. A few manuscripts (608 1995) also add ἡμῶν, assimilating to a very common Pauline formula. Finally, the so-called "Western" witnesses (06 010 012) have their own peculiar readings: κυρίῳ Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ (06) and Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ (010 012 0142).<sup>11</sup>

## 2 Thessalonians 1:2

♦ ἡμῶν {e=i}

Several manuscripts—including a few of the most reliable (03 025 33 1739 1881 1912 *al*) and those among the so-called "Western" witnesses (06, it<sup>d, mon</sup>)—omit ἡμῶν. Its presence is attested by the majority of manuscripts including 01 02 010 012 6 81 203 256 436 1845 2805 Byz lat sy sa. Both readings, therefore, have strong and relatively broad external support. In favor of its inclusion is its conformity to the greetings of the majority of the Pauline epistles.<sup>12</sup> On the other hand, the absence of the pronoun could have prompted a harmonization toward the more typical Pauline greeting. Consequently, the external evidence is split for this variant and the internal evidence is not decisive for either reading.

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<sup>11</sup> The phrase is omitted by 33.

<sup>12</sup> Namely, Rom, 1 Cor, 2 Cor, Gal, Eph, Phil, Col, Phlm. See Eph 6:23, 2 Tim 1:2, and Tit 1:4 for Pauline examples lacking ἡμῶν (cf. G. G. Findlay, *The Epistles of Paul the Apostle to the Thessalonians* [Cambridge Greek Testament for Schools and Colleges; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1904], 138).

It is unsurprising, then, that support for both readings can be found among the critical editions and the scholarly discussion. Tischendorf, THGNT, and RP include the pronoun while NA25, WH, SBLGNT, and von Soden omit it. The UBS committee chose to put the text in brackets and offered a “C” rating to “represent the balance of probabilities.”<sup>13</sup> Among commentators, Zimmer argues in its favor but Findlay, Fee, and Weima prefer its omission. Rigaux perhaps has offered the most accurate perspective noting “C’est un cas impossible à trancher.”<sup>14</sup> I have added a ♦ to indicate that I view both readings as equally plausible.

## 2 Thessalonians 1:3

παντων υμων {e+i}

The long string of genitives, ἐνὸς ἐκάστου πάντων ὑμῶν (“each one of all of you”),<sup>15</sup> whose combination occurs only here in the New Testament, seems to have prompted several shifts toward a smoother reading including, on the one hand, the omission of πάντων (0278 33 142 330 451 1398 1739 1881 2400 2516) or, on the other, ὑμῶν (01\* 1729).<sup>16</sup> The broad manuscript support for πάντων ὑμῶν and the fact that it is the more difficult reading make it all but certain.

## 2 Thessalonians 1:4

αυτους ημας {e+i}

The majority of manuscripts including some notable majuscules (02 06 010 012 6 256 436 1739 1881 2805 Byz) read ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς while several of our earliest and most reliable

<sup>13</sup> Bruce M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (2d ed.; Stuttgart: Deutsch-Bibelgesellschaft, 1994), 567.

<sup>14</sup> B. Rigaux, *Les Épitres aux Thessaloniens* (Collection d’Études Bibliques; Paris: Gabalda, 1956), 608.

<sup>15</sup> Syntactically, ἐνός is likely a possessive genitive modifying ἡ ἀγάπη; ἐκάστου is an adjective agreeing with ἐνός; πάντων is an adjective agreeing with ὑμῶν; and ὑμῶν is likely a partitive genitive modifying ἐνός.

<sup>16</sup> Findlay explains the variants as due to homoeoteleuton (*Thessalonians*, 138). Zimmer sees the cause as “Vermeidung des Pleonasmus” (*Der Text der Thessalonicherbriefe: samt textkritischem Apparat und Kommentar* [Quedlinburg: Chr. Friedr. Viewegs, 1893], 71). Rigaux says “Ces deux omissions proviennent d’une même tendance: on veut éviter l’accumulation des génitifs ἐνός ἐκάστου πάντων ὑμῶν auxquels s’ajoutent encore un lourd ἀλλήλους” (*Thessaloniens*, 608).

(01 03 33 81 203 1845 1912 *pc*) have αὐτοῦς ἡμᾶς.<sup>17</sup> The intrinsic evidence slightly favors αὐτοῦς ἡμᾶς since that appears to be Paul’s preferred word order when combining a first-person pronoun with an intensive pronoun.<sup>18</sup> As noted by Zimmer, there is also a pattern among the so-called “Western” witnesses to shift the non-intensive pronoun to the front of the phrase (cf. Rom 7:25; 9:3; 2 Cor 12:13), a tendency which may have prompted Findlay to call this variant a “Western emendation.”<sup>19</sup> The reading αὐτοῦς ἡμᾶς is to be preferred given its relatively strong external support and the aforementioned internal considerations.

εν υμιν εγκαυχασθαι {e+i}

Several variants, all with minimal attestation, occur for this unit: 010 and 012 read the aorist καυχῆσασθαι, a form that does not actually occur elsewhere in Greek literature (per the TLG); a few witnesses add καί after ὑμῖν, perhaps for emphasis (6 1739); another reading heightens Paul’s boast with the insertion of μέγала (1798); other witnesses transpose the word order (1311 1751 1995). These variants should be regarded as secondary given their slim external support.

The majority of manuscripts (including 06 256 436 1845 1881 Byz) read καυχᾶσθαι instead of ἐγκαυχᾶσθαι, which is attested by several of the more reliable and earliest witnesses (01 02 03 025 0111V 33 81 203 506 1912 1918 2464 2805). This difference is best viewed as an assimilation to Paul’s usage elsewhere: the verb καυχάομαι is found thirty-five times in the Pauline Epistles while the verb ἐγκαυχάομαι occurs only here. Despite its infrequency in the New Testament, ἐγκαυχάομαι does occur in contemporaneous Greek

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<sup>17</sup> 025 reads αὐτοῦς ὑμᾶς.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Rom 7:25; 9:3; 15:14; 2 Cor 12:13. There is a genitive example (Rom 16:2) when the order is indeed reversed though Paul’s emphasis on himself in that context seems to demand it.

<sup>19</sup> Friedrich Zimmer, “Zur Textkritik des zweiten Thessalonicherbriefes,” *ZWT* 31 (1888): 323–24; Findlay, *Thessalonians*, 138.

literature including the Septuagint, 1 Clement, and Lucian.<sup>20</sup> Moreover, none of the great majuscules (01 02 03), all of which support ἐγκαυχάομαι, read ἐγκαυχάομαι instead of καυχάομαι in its thirty-five other attested instances. Consequently, both external and internal evidence support ἐγκαυχᾶσθαι.

πιστεως {e+i}

Several manuscripts add τῆς before πίστεως (38 103 254 455 608 858 886 1524 1935 1947 1950 1961 1973 1976 1984 1985 1987 1995 2000 2005 2102 2104 2138 2248 2576), though none are among the manuscripts with the highest pregenealogical coherence with the editorial text. This addition could be explained as an attempt to create symmetry with τῆς ὑπομονῆς while its absence would need to be viewed merely as an accidental omission that occurred early in the transmission process, despite the fact that none of the manuscripts supporting the reading are known for frequently attesting an early text. The external and internal evidence, therefore, support the anarthrous πίστεως.

ταις θλιψεσιν {e>i}

The so-called “Western” witnesses (06 010 012) along with 025, 0111V, and 442 omit ταῖς. It is difficult to explain why the article would have been omitted intentionally had it been present.<sup>21</sup> In the only other similar construction in Paul with θλίψις (1 Thess 3:7), the article is omitted. This variant probably has been dismissed as a “Western” peculiarity because the external evidence for this reading has been somewhat muddled: (1) Tischendorf

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<sup>20</sup> BDAG s.v. ἐγκαυχάομαι.

<sup>21</sup> Grammatically, the absence of the article would strengthen the semantic link between the two nouns: “In Greek, when two nouns are connected by καί and the article precedes only the first noun, there is a close connection between the two” (Daniel B. Wallace, *Greek Grammar beyond the Basics: An Exegetical Syntax of the New Testament* [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1996], 270). However, Smyth notes that the absence of the article occurs “rarely when the substantives are of different genders” as is the case in 2 Thess 1:4 (Smyth § 1143). Thus, the omission of the article would have strengthened the link between the two nouns; adding it would have provided grammatical symmetry and followed the typical pattern for nouns with different genders linked by καί. Some of these observations may also apply to the previous variation unit.

and von Soden both misreport that the “Western” witnesses omit the entire phrase, ταῖς θλίψεσιν,<sup>22</sup> obscuring their unity with 025 at this point and creating a variant that could perhaps be explained as homoeoarcton with the subsequent αἶς; (2) 0111 was not published until 1909;<sup>23</sup> (3) the previous two points probably contributed to the variant being left out of the Nestle-Aland editions and, therefore, to drop from scholarly consciousness. But even with the support of 025 and 0111, the broad external support of the article’s occurrence makes it difficult to accept alternatives. With some reservation, therefore, I have adopted ταῖς θλίψεσιν.

ανεχεσθε {e+i}

Vaticanus (03) and a few other minuscules (1867 2544) read ἐνέχεσθε instead of ἀνέχεσθε. The former occurs once in Paul (Gal 5:1), while the latter ten times. These verbs are occasionally confused in the manuscript tradition: for instance, 010 records ἐνέχεσθε instead of ἀνέχεσθε in 2 Cor 11:4; majuscule 04 reads ἐνέξονται for ἀνέξονται in 2 Tim 4:3; several manuscripts have ἀνέχεσθε instead of ἐνέχεσθε in Gal 5:1.<sup>24</sup> As noted by Weima, ἀνέχεσθε is the more difficult reading in this instance since it normally takes a genitive or accusative object;<sup>25</sup> thus, ἐνέχεσθε would have been more natural with the dative relative pronoun αἶς. These considerations and the overwhelming external evidence support ἀνέχεσθε.

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<sup>22</sup> As this is clearly not the case and since it is unlikely for these errors to have occurred independently in two critical editions, one wonders how this misreading found its way into von Soden’s apparatus. Perhaps von Soden, at times, depended on Tischendorf? One can explain the mistake in Tischendorf easily enough since this is the only reading he reports for this variation unit whereas von Soden also accurately notes that 025 omitted ταῖς but not θλίψεσιν.

<sup>23</sup> C. R. Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testamentes* (vol 3; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1909), 1075–77.

<sup>24</sup> I have used the CNTTS apparatus for these textual data.

<sup>25</sup> Jeffrey A. D. Weima, *1–2 Thessalonians* (BECNT; Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2014), 487–88.

Until now this variant was thought to be singular. Given this and the fact that it is obviously secondary, one wonders how it made its way into the textual apparatus of the Nestle-Aland editions. Doubtless its presence in the margin of WH and the value subsequent editors have attributed to Vaticanus influenced this choice. And, unfortunately, once a variant finds its way into the Nestle-Aland edition, it then also appears in the exegetical tradition.<sup>26</sup> This in turn creates the unnecessary scenario of commentators discussing a variant which is clearly secondary and really has no “relevance to the history of the text or of its interpretation.”<sup>27</sup>

## 2 Thessalonians 1:5

δικαίας κρίσεως {e+i}

Ten minuscules record δικαιοκρίσις (142 629 858 941 1609 1678 1729 1751 1867 2003) instead of δικαίας κρίσεως. The former is only used once in Paul, but became more popular in later Byzantine Greek.<sup>28</sup> Due to *scriptura continua* perhaps δικαίας κρίσεως was read as a single word and then corrected to the first declension which had become more familiar in the Byzantine era. Although clearly secondary, I have included it here since this edition has doubled the number of Greek manuscripts previously known for this reading.

## 2 Thessalonians 1:6

παρα θεω {e>i}

Against the earliest, most reliable, and majority of the external evidence, twenty manuscripts, including 02, add the article before θεῷ (02 0278 38 104 203 218 263 365 442 459 506 999 1352 1573 2005 2127 2138 2492 2523 2576). In the case of 02, the addition of the article conforms to this manuscript’s pattern: the article is also added in 02 for this phrase

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<sup>26</sup> Cf. *ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> NA28, 56.

<sup>28</sup> Indeed, of the 292 times this word is recorded in the TLG, Paul’s use in Rom 2:5 appears to be the earliest.

in Mark 10:27, 1 Cor 7:24, and 1 Pet 2:20. The remaining external support for παρὰ τῷ θεῷ is mostly late and for this reason should be considered secondary.

## 2 Thessalonians 1:7

ημῶν {e+i}

Fifteen manuscripts including the original hand of Sinaiticus (01\* 1881 *al*) have ὑμῶν instead of ἡμῶν. This second-person pronoun makes little sense in context and is best explained as an itacism.

του κυριου Ιησου {e+i}

As is typical when this or similar phrases are used in Paul, several minor variations occur in the manuscript tradition. In this instance, all of the major majuscules, my consistently cited witnesses, and the Byzantine text testify to the shorter reading, τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, which occurs four other times in Paul.<sup>29</sup> Five manuscripts add only Χριστοῦ to the phrase (263 365 1573 2127 2523), a combination occurring fourteen times in Paul and in the immediate context (2 Thess 1:2);<sup>30</sup> eight manuscripts have ἡμῶν after κυρίου (0111 330 451 629 1398 2492 2516 2772), which occurs seven times in Paul;<sup>31</sup> eight other manuscripts include both Χριστοῦ and ἡμῶν (020 075 442 720 1908 2400 2544 2736), which, in combination, occurs twenty-seven times in Paul.<sup>32</sup> In the present instance, all of these should be viewed as accretions prompted perhaps by Paul's more popular usage elsewhere.

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<sup>29</sup> I have restricted my search to occurrences in the genitive with or without the article. These include 1 Cor 16:23; 2 Cor 11:23; Col 3:17; 1 Thess 4:2.

<sup>30</sup> Rom 1:7; 1 Cor 1:3; 6:11; 2 Cor 1:2; 13:13; Gal 1:3; Eph 1:2; 6:23; Phil 1:2; 4:23; 2 Thess 1:2, 12; Phlm 1:3, 25.

<sup>31</sup> I.e., eight times without Χριστοῦ immediately following. These include Rom 16:20; 1 Cor 5:4; 2 Cor 1:14; 1 Thess 2:19; 3:13; 2 Thess 1:8, 12. Some of these occurrences of ἡμῶν are bracketed in NA28.

<sup>32</sup> Rom 5:1, 11; 15:6, 30; 1 Cor 1:2, 7–8, 10; 15:57; 2 Cor 1:3; 8:9; Gal 6:14, 18; Eph 1:3, 17; 5:20; Col 1:3; 1 Thess 1:3; 5:9, 23, 28; 2 Thess 2:1, 14; 3:6, 18; 1 Tim 6:3, 14. Some of these occurrences of Χριστοῦ are bracketed in NA28.



## 2 Thessalonians 1:8

♦ ἐν πυρὶ φλογός {e=i}

Although little is at stake exegetically, it is unclear whether the earliest attainable text is πυρὶ φλογός (“fire of flame”) or φλογὶ πυρός (“flame of fire”). Most editions—including NA28, WH, Tischendorf, von Soden, RP, THGNT—have opted for the former while several recent commentators (e.g., Fee and Weima) and SBLGNT prefer the latter. Exemplifying the complexity of this textual decision is the fact that Zimmer selected φλογὶ πυρός in his 1888 article “Zur Textkritik des zweiten Thessalonicherbriefes,” but πυρὶ φλογός in his 1893 textual commentary.<sup>33</sup> To my mind (contra Fee) the external evidence is closer to even: φλογὶ πυρός is attested by reliable and a broad range of manuscripts (03 06 010 012 044 075 203 1912 2805 *al lat sy co*), but so is πυρὶ φλογός (01 02 018 020 025 0278 6 33 81 256 436 1739 1845 1881 Byz d m sy<sup>hmg</sup>). Perhaps the support of the versions tips the scales slightly in favor of the former.

The internal evidence is not straightforward either. The reading φλογὶ πυρός is the more frequently attested form occurring in a few other places in the New Testament: Acts 7:30; Heb 1:7; Rev 1:14, 2:8, 19:12.<sup>34</sup> It also occurs in the Old Testament and its Apocrypha (Ps 28:7; Isa 29:6; 66:15; Dan 7:9; Sir 21:9; Sol 15:4). On the other hand, πυρὶ φλογός occurs only here in the New Testament (and in the apparatus for Acts 7:30), perhaps in Exodus 3:2 (see below), and a handful of times in the Old Testament Apocrypha (Sir 8:10; 45:19; Sol 12:4). This has perhaps led commentators to conclude that a change from the slightly less common πυρὶ φλογός to φλογὶ πυρός was more likely than vice versa. Unfortunately,

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<sup>33</sup> Cf. Zimmer, “Zur Textkritik,” 326; *Der Text*, 72. This textual decision was not any clearer to an earlier generation of scholars. As Lunemann notes: “Instead of the *Receptus* πυρὶ φλογός (approved by Tisch. 2 and 7, Bloomfield, Alford, and Reiche), Scholz, Lachm. and Tisch. 1 read φλογὶ πυρός” (*Critical and Exegetical Handbook to the Epistles of St. Paul to the Thessalonians* [trans. from the third German edition by Paton J. Gloag. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1880], 183).

<sup>34</sup> In each of the verses φλόξ and πῦρ occur together with πῦρ in the genitive modifying φλόξ.

Exodus 3:2,<sup>35</sup> which perhaps would have been more familiar to copyists and readers than all of the Old Testament passages listed above, faces the same text-critical dilemma as 2 Thess 1:8: both readings are attested by a sizeable number of number of manuscripts.<sup>36</sup> Hence, Rahlfs' edition printed *φλογὶ πυρός* while the Göttingen edition prefers *πυρὶ φλογός*. Probably as a result of this textual ambiguity in Exodus 3:2, Acts 7:30—which directly alludes to Exodus 3:2—also has significant manuscripts bearing witness to both readings.

Complicating matters further is the fact that Paul appears to be alluding to Isaiah 66:15 in this verse. Indeed, both passages depict the final judgement. Below, I have provided the Greek text of both with the verbal parallels underlined:

2 Thess 1:8 ἐν πυρὶ φλογός, διδόντος ἐκδίκησιν τοῖς μὴ εἰδόσιν θεὸν καὶ τοῖς μὴ ὑπακούουσιν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ

Isaiah 66:15 Ἰδοὺ γὰρ κύριος ὡς πῦρ ἥξει καὶ ὡς καταιγὶς τὰ ἄρματα αὐτοῦ ἀποδοῦναι ἐν θυμῷ ἐκδίκησιν καὶ ἀποσκορακισμόν ἐν φλογὶ πυρός.

Based on this allusion some scholars have seen it more likely that Paul would have written what occurs in Isa 66:15.<sup>37</sup> Yet, Paul could have been quoting from memory in which case a slip between the two seems to be more than just a remote possibility. And *πυρὶ φλογός*, as noted above, does occur in Jewish literature, albeit less frequently, but potentially in a very memorable passage, namely, Exodus 3:2.

Those who prefer *φλογὶ πυρός* tend to see its external evidence as more authoritative while those in favor of *πυρὶ φλογός* see its infrequency as the better explanation for the rise

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<sup>35</sup> “An angel of the Lord appeared to him [i.e., Moses] in flaming fire [or “a flame of fire”] out of a bush” (Lancelot Brenton, ed., *The Septuagint Version of the Old Testament with an English Translation* [London: Bagster and Sons, 1870]).

<sup>36</sup> The negative apparatus of the Göttingen edition lists the following witnesses in support of *φλογὶ πυρός*: A F O<sup>1</sup>-29<sup>1</sup>-135 C<sup>1</sup> 108<sup>(mg)</sup> d n 30<sup>1</sup> t y 128<sup>1</sup> 59 130 318 424 509 707\*. J. W. Wevers, ed., *Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum: Genesis* (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1974).

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Gordan D. Fee, *Pauline Christology: An Exegetical-Theological Study* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007), 58 n. 83. There are no alternate readings for this variation unit in the Göttingen apparatus for Isaiah 66:15.

of the alternative. Yet, to my mind, the differences between the external evidence of the two readings is mild at best and I am suspicious of the claims that πυρὶ φλογός is that difficult a reading. Consequently, I have added a ♦ to signal my ambivalence between the two readings and to alert the reader the fact that I find both equally probable.

διδοντος {e>i}

The so-called “Western” witnesses (06 010 012) and a few other manuscripts (044 606 2005 2138) read the nominative διδούς rather than the genitive διδόντος. The genitive singular is the grammatically correct form of this participle as it is most likely modifying τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ in v. 7. Given its distance from its antecedent, a change from the genitive to the more common nominative form is perhaps not surprising.<sup>38</sup> On the other hand, had διδούς been original, διδόντος could have arisen as a grammatical correction or via attraction to the immediately preceding genitive. Nevertheless, the overwhelming external support makes διδόντος highly likely.

θεον {e+i}

Twenty-nine manuscripts,<sup>39</sup> all of which are late, add the article before θεόν. As for intrinsic evidence, the anarthrous θεόν occurs fourteen times in Paul but only five times without an accompanying preposition (which is the semantic situation for θεόν in this variation unit). The form with the article occurs twenty-five times, sixteen of which are without a preposition. Thus, while Paul utilized both forms, the arthrous form is more common and, perhaps, less semantically ambiguous. Additionally, there is no explanation readily at hand to justify why the article would have been omitted other than by accident. External and internal evidence both support the anarthrous reading.

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<sup>38</sup> Rigaux sees διδούς as arising from the Latin text: “faute évidente en connexion avec le latin cum venerit dans vindictam” (Rigaux, *Thessaloniens*, 626).

<sup>39</sup> 256 is the only consistently cited witness among the group.

του κυρίου ημων ιησου {e<i>

The manuscript tradition is evenly divided for this variation unit with an equally impressive list of manuscripts—both in term of quality and quantity—supporting either τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ (03 06 33 203 1739 1845 1881 *al*) or τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (01 02 010 012 6 81 256 436 1912 2805 *pm*).<sup>40</sup> Thirty-two manuscripts also support the shorter reading but omit ἡμῶν from the formula. What is especially of note for this secondary omission is that with the exception of von Soden it has not been recorded in our printed critical apparatuses: von Soden only reports five manuscripts attesting this variation (88 255 394 489 623). However, of the manuscripts with this reading in the present apparatus, twenty-nine are commentary manuscripts with twenty-five coming from Theophylact, three from Chrysostom, and one from Oecumenius. This suggests that the reading is primarily a commentary reading and perhaps betrays the genealogical relationship between such manuscripts.<sup>41</sup>

This entire variation unit is also curiously left out of the Nestle-Aland apparatus, despite its recording of similar differences in wording for this same phrase in five other verses (1:2, 12; 2:1, 8; 3:6). Once again, an editor’s decision has consequences in the exegetical tradition: none of the modern commentaries I consulted discuss this variation—though there is perhaps more (or as much) doubt in this case as to which reading is the earliest than in other readings recorded in the Nestle-Aland apparatus.

As for this variation unit, Zimmer notes that “Die Handschriften lieben überhaupt die volle Form Ἰησοῦς Χριστός.”<sup>42</sup> Indeed, in other instances when the shorter form has been

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<sup>40</sup> RP indicates that the Byzantine text is split between these two readings.

<sup>41</sup> For more on the genealogical relationships between commentary manuscripts see Chapter 4, “A Textual History of 2 Thessalonians,” 206–207.

<sup>42</sup> Zimmer, *Der Text*, 72.

judged to be earlier by NA28, there is typically a large number of manuscripts, if not most, that add Χριστοῦ.<sup>43</sup> In terms of intrinsic evidence, the shorter form occurs eight times in Paul while the longer form twenty-seven times (cf. v. 7 above). It appears, then, that the shorter form best explains the other readings: that is to say, when the shorter form has been judged to be the earliest reading, Χριστοῦ is a frequent accretion among the manuscripts.

## 2 Thessalonians 1:9

ὀλεθρον {e+i}

NA28 reports four manuscripts with the alternative reading ὀλέθριον; von Soden reports twelve. In the present apparatus the number of supporting manuscripts has been expanded to twenty-six (including 02 33 81V). The adjective, ὀλέθριος, does not occur elsewhere in Paul while the noun, ὀλεθρος, appears three other times (1 Cor 5:5; 1 Thess 5:3; 1 Tim 6:9) without any variation in the textual tradition.<sup>44</sup> Thus, the intrinsic probability supports ὀλεθρος.<sup>45</sup> Moreover, an editorial change from ὀλεθρον to ὀλέθριον may have been more likely given the nearby αἰώνιον or as a means to avoid an appositive construction.<sup>46</sup>

In terms of external data, only three of my consistently cited manuscripts with the highest pre-genealogical coherence with the editorial text support ὀλέθριον. Thus, our best manuscripts and the internal evidence support ὀλεθρον.

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<sup>43</sup> Cf. Rom 16:20; 1 Cor 5:4; 2 Cor 1:14; 1 Thess 2:19; 3:13; 2 Thess 1:12. For these textual data I consulted CNTTS. It should also be noted that 03 seems to have a tendency to omit Χριστοῦ as it has done so in Rom 5:11; 2 Cor 8:9; Col 1:3; 1 Thess 5:9.

<sup>44</sup> Both forms occur frequently in Greek literature, though the TLG reports about twice as many occurrences for ὀλεθρος.

<sup>45</sup> The infrequency of ὀλεθρος reinforces this claim: it occurs enough to display a Pauline pattern but probably not often enough to suppose that copyists and readers would have been aware of this pattern.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Rigaux, *Thessaloniciens*, 630. BDAG translates the adjective in this verse as “lethal punishment” (BDAG s.v. ὀλέθριος). On the other hand, is the double adjectival construction any less awkward?

του κυρίου {e>i}

The so-called “Western” majuscles (06 010 012) and more than thirty other manuscripts omit the article. Most of these minuscules are commentary manuscripts of Theophylact. Only one (GA 6) is among my consistently cited witnesses with the highest pregenealogical coherence with the editorial text. The external evidence, therefore, overwhelmingly supports τοῦ κυρίου.

## 2 Thessalonians 1:10

τοῖς πιστεύουσιν {e>i}

One majuscule (044) and twenty-seven minuscules—including 33, 1845, 1912, 2805, and many commentary manuscripts—have the present participle τοῖς πιστεύουσιν. The internal evidence is ambivalent depending on whether one thinks a change was more likely to have occurred to emphasize ongoing belief (τοῖς πιστεύουσιν) over conversion “as a single definite act”<sup>47</sup> (τοῖς πιστεύουσιν) or vice versa. Faced with such inconclusive internal evidence, following the earliest and majority of witnesses seems prudent.

ἐπιστεύθη {e>i}

Two manuscripts read ἐπιστώθη (104 459)—only one (104) of which is reported by NA28. Given that NA28 does not report other singular readings of 104, one may wonder why this reading was given such prominence. The answer lies with Westcott and Hort who preferred the meagerly attested ἐπιστώθη. In the appendix to their edition, they state: “it seems hopeless to find an intelligible meaning for ἐφ’ ὑμᾶς in connection with ἐπιστεύθη.”<sup>48</sup> Their solution is to adopt the reading of 104—which was conjectured by Markland<sup>49</sup>—

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<sup>47</sup> J. B. Lightfoot, *Notes on the Epistles of St. Paul from Unpublished Commentaries* (London: MacMillan, 1895), 104.

<sup>48</sup> Brooke F. Westcott and Fenton J. A. Hort, *The New Testament in the Original Greek: Introduction and Appendix* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1882), 128.

<sup>49</sup> This is cj10114 of the Amsterdam Database of New Testament Conjectural Emendation.

arguing that it makes better sense of ἐφ' ὑμᾶς (“confirmed upon you”). For parallel examples they point to the use of πιστόω with ἐφ' ὑμᾶς in 1 Chr 17:23; 2 Chr 1:9. However, as with most English translations, if ἐφ' ὑμᾶς goes with μαρτύριον rather than ἐπιστεύθη, some of the awkwardness is relieved since ἐπί with the accusative can “describe motion toward an object.”<sup>50</sup> Thus τὸ μαρτύριον ἡμῶν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς could be rendered as “our testimony *addressed to you*.”<sup>51</sup> Nevertheless, as Milligan notes, “no other instance of μαρτύριον with ἐπί is forthcoming” and he rightly concludes that “we must be content ... to regard this as a unique construction, intended to emphasize the direction the testimony took.”<sup>52</sup> To my mind, Milligan’s interpretation of ἐφ' ὑμᾶς is more likely than the possibility of 104 and 459 preserving the correct reading against the rest of the Greek manuscript tradition.

## 2 Thessalonians 1:11

πληρωση {e>i}

Was the earliest reading the subjunctive whose similar sounding ending may have been confused with the future (a very common change within the manuscripts)? Or did Paul use the future indicative in a ἵνα clause as he may have done elsewhere (cf. 1 Cor 13:3; Gal 2:4; Phil 2:11), defying Classical Greek standards?<sup>53</sup> This type of orthographic confusion between the future and subjunctive is common, but typically the manuscript evidence supports one of the readings so decisively that a textual decision is quite obvious; in the present instance the future is supported by six majuscules (including 02) and twenty-one minuscules (including 6

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<sup>50</sup> Abraham J. Malherbe, *The Letters to the Thessalonians* (ABC; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 405.

<sup>51</sup> George Milligan, *St. Paul’s Epistles to the Thessalonians: The Greek Text with Introduction and Notes* (London: MacMillan, 1908), 92.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> For discussion of the use of the future indicative after ἵνα see BDF § 369.2; Maximilian Zerwick, *Biblical Greek Illustrated by Examples* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1963), 340; C. F. D. Moule, *An Idiom Book of New Testament Greek* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959), 139.

81 1845 1912). However, it is worth noting that Alexandrinus (02) has the future instead of the subjunctive on two other occasions (cf. Gal 2:4 and Phil 2:11). If testimony of Alexandrinus is suspect, it significantly weakens the external support for πλήρωσει—which should probably be considered secondary regardless.

## 2 Thessalonians 1:12

κυρίου ἡμῶν ἰησοῦ {e>i}

The textual tradition is split, with important manuscripts supporting both the shorter κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ (01 03 06 6 203 256 1845 1912 2805 *pm sa*) and the longer κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (02 010 012 33 81 1739 1881 *pm lat sy*). As for the internal evidence, the longer reading occurs with more frequency in Paul,<sup>54</sup> which may make it more likely to have been a harmonization in this case. Nearly all modern editions and commentators prefer the shorter reading but one wonders if this is due to a pre-Royse overestimation of the principle of *lectio brevior*. In the end, the shorter reading’s slightly better external evidence probably shifts the weight of the evidence in its favor but to a lesser degree than was previously thought.

## 2 Thessalonians 2:1

υπερ {e+i}

Thirty-eight manuscripts, none of which are dated before the tenth century or are among my consistently cited manuscripts, read περί instead of ὑπέρ. These two readings could have been easily confused given their difference of a mere letter on either end of each respective word. And, as Bruce notes, ὑπέρ here is probably an instance of “the occasional use of ὑπέρ in the sense of περί,”<sup>55</sup> a situation which provides ample explanatory power for a change of the former to the latter.

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<sup>54</sup> See my comments above regarding similar variants in 1:7, 8.



του κυριου ημων {e>i}

Two important majuscules (03 044) omit ἡμῶν. And, as NA28 records, a Vulgate manuscript and the Harklensis also lack the pronoun. This variation unit is most likely reported in NA28 *only* (a) because of the importance attributed to Vaticanus,<sup>56</sup> (b) because WH bracketed the word in their text, and (c) because it is the shorter reading. However, if the principal of *lectio brevior* is no longer prioritized,<sup>57</sup> the shorter reading is left with little internal evidence in its favor though one could argue that it was less familiar than the longer reading.<sup>58</sup> Nevertheless, the support of the rest of the Greek manuscript tradition makes the longer reading most likely.

## 2 Thessalonians 2:2

μηδε {e+i}

Did Paul write μηδέ or μήτε? All editions (with the exception of RP) and all commentaries I consulted favored the former following the early majuscules (01 02 03 06 010 012) and other important manuscripts (6 256 436 1739 1845 1881 *al*). The alternative, μήτε,<sup>59</sup> which is read by 025 81 203 1912 2805 Byz, could have arisen for the sake of conformity: it occurs three more times in this verse alone. And it was perhaps easy to overlook the subtle stylistic value of the shift between μηδέ and μήτε. Like Matt 6:20 and Acts 24:12–13, the use of different connectives here most likely signals a difference in what

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<sup>55</sup> F. F. Bruce, *1 & 2 Thessalonians* (WBC; Waco: Word Books, 1982), 163. Bruce references BDF § 231.

<sup>56</sup> Indeed, the omission of Χριστοῦ by two important minuscules (1739 and 1881) goes unreported in NA28's critical apparatus for the following variation unit.

<sup>57</sup> For my approach to how this principal of textual criticism should be used see Chapter One, "Introduction," 26.

<sup>58</sup> For the frequency of the forms see 1:7 above. Also, Fee points out that this ἡμῶν may have been left out for "stylistic reasons" given its proximity to the subsequent ἡμῶν a few words later (Gordon D. Fee, *The First and Second Letters to the Thessalonians* [NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009], 271 n. 5).

<sup>59</sup> GA 33 reads μηποτε.

is being connected: in 2 Thess 2:2, μηδέ serves as a conjunction between two infinitives while μήτε is used to connect different prepositional phrases.<sup>60</sup> This subtler improvement in style may have been less obvious to a would-be editor. Thus, the change from μηδέ to μήτε conforms nicely to Metzger’s general description of editorial activity: “The characteristic of most scribal emendations is their superficiality, often combining ‘the appearance of improvement with the absence of its reality.’”<sup>61</sup>

θροεῖσθαι {e<i}

Two of our best witnesses (02 03) and a few important minuscules (81 1881 *al*) read the imperative θρόεισθε rather than the infinitive θρόεῖσθαι. The difference between these readings can of course be attributed to itacism.<sup>62</sup> To my knowledge, all editions prefer the infinitive giving little consideration to the imperative as the earliest reading. Yet, the imperative has notable external support—indeed, several of the manuscripts supporting this reading have ninety-five or nearly ninety-five percent or greater agreement with the editorial text (i.e., 02 03 81 104 454 1390 1798 2464). The imperative would also make good sense of the use of the conjunction μηδέ and its subsequent contrast with the instances of μήτε that follow: the μηδέ would signal a transition to a new sentence while the subsequent forms of μήτε would connect the prepositional phrases that follow. Thus, if the imperative were the correct reading, this verse would need to be re-punctuated to include a full stop (or

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<sup>60</sup> For the different combinations of these connectives found in the NT see A. T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in Light of Historical Research* (4th ed.; New York: Hodder & Stoughton, 1923), 1189. For the variation that occurs among the manuscripts see Zimmer, “Zur Textkritik,” 328–29.

<sup>61</sup> Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 13. Metzger is actually quoting Westcott and Hort in the second half of the excerpt above.

<sup>62</sup> “The confusion between -ε and -αι is the commonest of itacisms . . . ; the spelling of such verb-forms is no index to their grammatical meaning” (Findlay, *Thessalonians*, 197). Though I agree with Findlay that the confusion between these two forms is extremely common, it is also worth noting that not a single manuscript in my edition wrote σαλευθῆνε in place of σαλευθῆναι just a few words earlier.

semicolon) before the μηδέ.<sup>63</sup> On the other hand, a full stop here would be abrupt and render Paul's request to the Thessalonians from v. 1 somewhat anticlimactic. In 2:1, Paul is shifting to the main body of his epistle and introducing the main topics he plans to address. This contextual circumstance greatly increases the likelihood that vv. 1–2 should be taken as a single sentence and admonition. In other words, contextually, Paul's admonition that the Thessalonians should not be "alarmed" (ESV) is not a new thought but is best read as a part of what Paul is asking (ἐρωτῶμεν) of the Thessalonians from v. 1.

This intrinsic situation makes the infinitive more likely in my opinion despite the manuscript evidence for the imperative.

του κυριου {e>i}

The reading τοῦ κυρίου is attested by sixty-three manuscripts (including 01 02 03 06 6 81 203 256 436 1739 1845 1912 2805)<sup>64</sup> while τοῦ Χριστοῦ is read by forty-five (all of which are later). NA28 also reports that the entire Latin, Syriac, and Coptic traditions support the former but that the majority of manuscripts support the latter. In the rest of the Pauline corpus, "day of the Lord" occurs in 1 Cor 1:8; 5:5; 2 Cor 1:14; 1 Thess 5:2 while "day of Christ" occurs in Phil 1:6, 10; 2:16.<sup>65</sup> Consequently, both readings seem possible from an intrinsic perspective. Weima, probably following Fee, suggests that the origin of τοῦ Χριστοῦ stemmed from "a [editorial] desire to clarify that 'Lord' refers not to God but to Christ."<sup>66</sup> This seems reasonable but also speculative.

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<sup>63</sup> There is another instance of the apostle using μηδέ plus an imperative after a full stop: 1 Cor 10:7. Though it would be a useful exercise, I have not bothered to track down whether any manuscripts include a full stop or semicolon in 2 Thess 2:2.

<sup>64</sup> The following manuscripts read the anarthrous κυρίου: 010 012 025 1881.

<sup>65</sup> Actually, there are slight variations in each of these references but in the verses reported above either κυρίου or Χριστοῦ occur as the initial genitive following some singular form of ἡμέρα.

<sup>66</sup> Weima, *Thessalonians*, 564 (cf. Fee, *Thessalonians*, 271 n. 6).

Interestingly and in contrast with the data reported in NA28, the majority of manuscripts in my edition actually support τοῦ κυρίου. Of course, for this edition, I have explicitly targeted manuscripts deviating from the majority so perhaps it is unsurprising that most of *these* manuscripts stray from the Majority reading. Yet among the manuscripts reading τοῦ κυρίου are also minuscules 203, 506, and 1352—three manuscripts explicitly included in Gothic M in the earlier Nestle-Aland 27th edition. Moreover, the CNTTS apparatus records an additional three manuscripts also counted among the majority in NA27 but which in fact read τοῦ κυρίου—namely, 76, 1244, and 1720. Of course, none of this proves that the majority of manuscripts do not in fact read τοῦ Χριστοῦ. At the least it adds considerably more textual support than was previously known for τοῦ κυρίου and it somewhat diminishes the possibility that τοῦ Χριστοῦ might have been the earliest reading. It also calls attention to the considerable amount of work still to be done on the minuscule tradition. How else might a fuller investigation of the minuscules affect our apparatus? For how many more readings might the weight of evidence shift, confirming or perhaps questioning what we thought was the Majority reading?<sup>67</sup>

Despite ambiguous internal evidence, τοῦ κυρίου should be preferred here based on the external evidence: it is supported by our best and perhaps also by most of our manuscripts.

## 2 Thessalonians 2:3

της ανομίας {e<i>

This variation unit presents one of the more well-known text-critical problems in 2 Thessalonians. Did Paul designate the antichrist as the “man of lawlessness” or as the “man of sin”? In my apparatus, thirty-one manuscripts (including 01 03 6 81 203 256 436 1739

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<sup>67</sup> The paragraph above was taken (and lightly edited) from a paper I presented at the 2016 annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature (Grant G. Edwards, “A New Collation of 2 Thessalonians,” [paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, San Antonio, TX, 20 November, 2016], 7–8).

1845 1881 1912 2805) read τῆς ἀνομίας instead of τῆς ἁμαρτίας, which is read by the majority of manuscripts as well as some important majuscules (02 06 010 012 025; also Byz).<sup>68</sup> This variation unit was included in *Text und Textwert*, so the data from this edition can actually be supplemented with the results of the entire Greek manuscript tradition. From TuT, we learn the following additional data not included in my apparatus: (1) two more minuscules and one corrector also read τῆς ἀνομίας (namely, 326 1837 2816C); (2) one minuscule omits the variation unit altogether (namely, 917); (3) the rest of the Greek manuscript tradition, as expected, reads τῆς ἁμαρτίας.<sup>69</sup> Turning to NA28 we learn that most of the Latin tradition and the entire Syriac tradition support τῆς ἁμαρτίας while the entire Coptic tradition supports τῆς ἀνομίας. And, finally, from UBS5 we learn that both readings are found in a significant number of important (and early) Church Fathers,<sup>70</sup> suggesting that both readings go back to at least the second century. From all of this data, I conclude that, unless one simply has a preference for the readings of Sinaiticus (01) and Vaticanus (03), the external evidence should be viewed as inconclusive for this textual decision.

In terms of intrinsic probability, ἀνομία and ἄνομος are both rare words in Paul—only occurring a combined thirteen times across nine different verses in the Pauline corpus. However, two of these instances are in the immediate context (vv. 7–8). And, although one might argue that these nearby occurrences led to the assimilation of τῆς ἁμαρτίας to τῆς ἀνομίας in v. 3, it is probably better to view “lawlessness” as a theme Paul is emphasizing,

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<sup>68</sup> GA 33 reads της <lac 7–8 char> for this variation unit.

<sup>69</sup> Unfortunately, comparing TuT with my apparatus at this point is not a very useful way of evaluating the *Teststellen* method since TuT only records the data for the very *Teststellen* utilized to select manuscripts for my apparatus.

<sup>70</sup> Per UBS5, Marcion, Origen, Josippus, Cyril of Jerusalem, Epiphanius, Hesychius, John of Damascus, Jerome, and Ambrose all attest τῆς ἀνομίας. Those attesting τῆς ἁμαρτίας include Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Origen (in another place), Eusebius, Chrysostom, Severian, Theodore, Tertullian, Victorinus of Pettau, Ambrosiaster, Hilary, Tyconius, Ambrose (in other place), Jerome (in another place), Rufinus, Pelagius, Augustine, Quodvultdeus, Varimadum.

making the use of ἀνομία here all the more likely.<sup>71</sup> As for the transcriptional evidence, Zimmer points out that “Das im ganzen nicht häufige ἀνομία wird von den Handschriften gern durch Synonyme ersetzt,”<sup>72</sup> though I note that there are other instances where manuscripts have replaced the more frequent ἁμαρτία with ἀνομία: John 9:34 (2358); Rom 4:7 (1735); 1 Cor 15:3 (1505, 2495) Heb 8:12 (the majority of MSS ); 1 John 3:5 (2374); 3:8 (1735).<sup>73</sup>

In sum, the immediate context and the infrequency of ἀνομία paired with the solid external evidence make it the preferred reading.

## 2 Thessalonians 2:4

καθίσαι {e+i}

The Byzantine tradition reads ὥς θεόν before καθίσαι.<sup>74</sup> As Weima notes, this is best viewed “as an explanatory gloss that spells out the implicit claim in the lawless one’s action of taking his seat in the temple of God, which is then stated explicitly in the subsequent ὅτι clause (‘that he himself is God’).”<sup>75</sup> This is also another variation unit which can be supplemented by TuT, which confirms that the majority of the manuscripts support ὥς θεόν

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<sup>71</sup> Also note Findlay’s comment: “The consistency of the former reading with της ανομιας and ο ανομος in vv. 7f., which are not very likely to have influenced the copyist at this *earlier* point (as these expressions might have done if preceding our text), lends intrinsic probability to the well-attested reading of ⲬB and the Egyptian versions” (Findlay, *Thessalonians*, 159). Weima more strongly argues that “the presence of ἀνομία in verse 7 and ἁνομος in verse 8 presupposes the occurrence of the same word in verse 3” (Weima, *Thessalonians*, 564).

<sup>72</sup> Zimmer, *Der Text*, 74. See his “Zur Textkritik,” 329 for a list of verses and synonyms utilized in place of ἀνομία in the manuscripts. See also the comments of James Everett Frame, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul to the Thessalonians* (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1908), 253 and Rigaux (*Thessaloniciens*, 658) for the tendencies of manuscripts with these words in the LXX.

<sup>73</sup> These data are courtesy of the CNTTS apparatus.

<sup>74</sup> GA 203 and 1845 are the only consistently cited manuscripts among this group. The majuscules 010 and 012 also indirectly bear witness to this reading having substituted ἵνα for ὥς. So do twenty-nine other manuscripts which transpose ὥς θεόν so that the phrase follows καθίσαι.

<sup>75</sup> Weima, *Thessalonians*, 565.

καθίσαι, but otherwise does not provide any additional readings.<sup>76</sup> In favor of the shorter reading are our oldest and best manuscripts (01 02 03 06 025 6 33 81 256 436 1739 1881 1912 2805 *al*) along with some important versional witnesses (lat co) as well as several important Church Fathers.<sup>77</sup> Both the external and internal evidence favor the shorter καθίσαι.

## 2 Thessalonians 2:6

† εν τω αυτου καιρω {e<i}

Equally impressive external evidence can be marshalled for both ἐαυτοῦ (03 06 010 012 6 436 1739 1845 1881 2805 Byz) and αὐτοῦ (01 02 018 025 33 81 203 256 1912 *al* Origen; on the possibility of αὐτοῦ see below). Little is at stake exegetically as there is hardly a difference between the reflexive pronoun, “*his own* time,” versus the possessive pronoun, “*his* time”—both of which would refer to the time of the appearing of the antichrist. Prior to NA26, most critical texts and commentators preferred αὐτοῦ; indeed, it was adopted by Zimmer, von Soden, WH, Tregelles, Tischendorf, Vogels, Merk, Bover, and NA25. Notable commentators who favored this reading include Dobschütz and Frame;<sup>78</sup> Findlay, Rigaux, and Weima are all noncommittal in their text-critical comments.<sup>79</sup> As for ἐαυτοῦ, it is favored by NA26–28, RP, SBLGNT, and THGNT. Most modern commentators adopt the reading of the Nestle-Aland text and lack any text-critical comment.

The assumption that αὐτοῦ was the earliest reading seems to provide the best explanation for the rise of the alternative. Reflexive pronouns (like ἐαυτοῦ) typically occur in the

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<sup>76</sup> TuT does round out some of our evidence and provide more orthographic readings and errors.

<sup>77</sup> Namely, Marcion, Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Origin, Eusebius, Basil of Ancyra, Cyril of Jerusalem, Tertullian, Ambrosiaster, Ambrose, Jerome, Rufinus (cf. UBS5).

<sup>78</sup> Frame, *Thessalonians*, 263; Ernst von Dobschütz, *Die Thessalonicher-Briefe* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1909), 280.

<sup>79</sup> Findlay, *Thessalonians*, 159; Rigaux, *Thessaloniciens*, 663; Weima, *Thessalonians*, 565.

attributive position while personal pronouns (like αὐτοῦ) the predicate position (though, as noted below, there are exceptions to this rule in Koine).<sup>80</sup> Copyists and editors of the New Testament certainly seemed to have been aware of this tendency: of the twenty-five occurrences of the attributive combination of article + ἑαυτοῦ/-ῶν + noun in the New Testament (without intervening words), there are five instances where at least one manuscript instead has αὐτοῦ *but* also has the word order in the predicate position (= the expected position for αὐτοῦ).<sup>81</sup> Moreover and perhaps more importantly, of the eight exceptional occurrences of the attributive combination of article + αὐτοῦ/-ῶν + noun (without intervening words), there are five instances where at least one manuscript has ἑαυτοῦ in place of αὐτοῦ *but* retains the attributive position (= the expected position for ἑαυτοῦ); there are also three instances where αὐτοῦ is moved to the predicate position, its natural position. All of this suggests that changes in the manuscript tradition between αὐτοῦ and ἑαυτοῦ tended to respect the anticipated position for these words. Therefore, grammatical changes would have been more likely to occur with ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ καιρῷ than with ἐν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ καιρῷ, since the latter is in the anticipated position and former is not. Thus, αὐτοῦ provides a better explanation for the origin of ἑαυτοῦ rather than vice versa.

An issue which further complicates the situation is the fact that, though relatively rare, ἑαυτοῦ can contract to αὐτοῦ (i.e., with rough breathing).<sup>82</sup> Consequently, the unaccented

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<sup>80</sup> Cf. Moulton-Turner III, 189–190. See also Smyth § 1163, 1171, 1184, 1185, 1196. As Turner notes, there are exceptions to this rule in Koine Greek; however, a search of article + αὐτοῦ/-ῶν + noun (without intervening words) via Accordance only returned eight hits from among the 1,991 occurrences of αὐτοῦ and αὐτῶν in the New Testament (Rom 3:24, 25; 11:1; 1 Thess 2:19; Tit 3:5; Heb 2:4; Jas 1:18; 1 John 2:27).

<sup>81</sup> Luke 11:21; 13:34; 1 Cor 7:2; Eph 5:29; Rev 10:7. I have used the CNTTS apparatus for these textual data. There are also five other examples where manuscripts changed ἑαυτοῦ to αὐτοῦ but maintained the attributive position (Rom 8:3; Eph 5:28; 33; 1 Thess 2:12; 4:4); finally, for the remaining fifteen occurrences there is no variation recorded in the CNTTS apparatus (Luke 2:3; Rom 4:19; 5:8; 16:4, 18; 1 Cor 7:37, 38; Phil 2:12; 1 Thess 2:7, 8; 2 Thess 3:12; Jude 6, 13, 18; Rev 10:3). See also Zimmer's impressive list of examples of the tendencies of manuscripts with personal and reflexive pronouns ("Zur Textkritik," 329–32).

<sup>82</sup> G. B. Winer, *A Treatise on the Grammar of New Testament Greek* (translated and revised by W. F. Moulton; 3d ed., revised; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1882), 188–189. Westcott and Hort have a helpful discussion



αυτου could merely be an orthographic variation of ἑαυτοῦ. As far as I can tell, whether αὐτοῦ or αὐτοῦ was originally intended is impossible to discern; I have printed αὐτοῦ in my critical text and I find it more likely based on the reasoning set out by Westcott and Hort<sup>83</sup> and because αὐτοῦ appears to have been “very near extinction before A.D.”<sup>84</sup> And, even if αὐτοῦ had been intended or interpreted in this way by a scribe, ἑαυτοῦ would have still been a natural development. So, regardless of whether αὐτοῦ or αὐτοῦ was intended, either still provides the best explanation for emergence of ἑαυτοῦ.

If the internal evidence favors αὐτοῦ, why then did NA26 adopt ἑαυτοῦ? As far as I can tell, an answer has not been provided in the secondary literature.<sup>85</sup> However, the reasoning was probably based on the nearby αὐτόν of which a few commentators make note and which occurs just a few words earlier. In this reasoning, this αὐτόν prompted an assimilation of ἑαυτοῦ to αὐτοῦ. Though possible, I find this explanation (which is based on the more general, though often true, assumption of assimilation to nearby words) less persuasive than the internal considerations I have articulated above, for which we have *empirical* evidence with *specific* scribal tendencies noted for ἑαυτοῦ and αὐτοῦ.

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of the issue from a text-critical perspective (*Introduction and Appendix: Appendix, “Notes on Orthography,”* 144–145).

<sup>83</sup> Their reasoning is as follows: “The extent to which simple personal pronouns are replaced by strong reflexive forms is variable in all Greek literature, being partly dependent on individual taste: but in the New Testament reflexive pronouns are certainly employed with unusual parsimony. Moreover οὐκ and the prepositions capable of indicating aspiration in elision of the final vowel hardly ever exhibit an aspirate before αὐτ., and that only in a single MSS. For these reasons it is safest to adopt the smooth breathing wherever it can be used without absolute harshness” (Westcott and Hort, *Introduction and Appendix: Appendix, “Notes on Orthography,”* 144).

<sup>84</sup> Moulton-Howard II, 180–181. Cf. BDF § 64, 283. I note also Gignac’s comments: “When αὐτός is used in reference to the subject of the phrase or sentence, it probably represents the personal pronoun (with a smooth breathing) rather than the Attic contracted form of the reflexive pronoun (αὐτοῦ for ἑαυτοῦ with a rough breathing) even when used reflexively in the attributive position” (Francis T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods. II: Morphology* [Milano: Istituto Editoriale Cisalpino–La Goliardica, 1981], 170).

<sup>85</sup> There is not a comment on this variation unit in Metzger’s textual commentary.

A final issue worth highlighting is Westcott and Hort’s comment that in regard to “deciding between ἑαυτοῦ and αὐτου ... B shews less than its usual superiority in purity of text.”<sup>86</sup> If this is true, then it somewhat weakens the external support for ἑαυτοῦ. It is perhaps instructive that Westcott and Hort—who were known for their preference of the text of Vaticanus—adopted αὐτοῦ in 2 Thess 2:6. To conclude, αὐτοῦ should be preferred based on the transcriptional probabilities.

## 2 Thessalonians 2:7

ο κατεχων {e+i}

Fourteen Theophylact commentary manuscripts change ὁ κατέχων to τὸ κατέχον conforming it to the neuter form on the pattern of the previous verse. Though clearly secondary, I note it here since this variation has been previously unreported in our printed critical editions. It also highlights again the genealogical connection between commentary manuscripts.

## 2 Thessalonians 2:8

♦ ο κυριος ιησους {e=i}

NA28 has bracketed Ἰησοῦς to alert the reader to doubt over its inclusion. It is omitted by important witnesses including 03 018 020 6 1739 1881 2805 Byz. *Text und Textwert* confirms that the majority of Greek manuscripts exclude it. Interestingly, the majority of manuscripts in my edition actually support its inclusion—though the margin is narrow with 69 MSS in its favor and 60 against.<sup>87</sup> Among manuscripts including Ἰησοῦς are 01 02 06 010 012 025 33 81 203 256 436 1845 1912 as well the entire Latin, Syriac, and Coptic traditions. The editions of Tischendorf, Zimmer, von Soden, SBLGNT, and THGNT all include it

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<sup>86</sup> Westcott and Hort, *Introduction and Appendix: Appendix*, “Notes on Orthography,” 144.

<sup>87</sup> Also of interest is the fact that four manuscripts counted among Gothic M in NA27 support its inclusion (namely, 203 506 1101 1918).

without brackets; it is bracketed by WH and excluded by RP. As Metzger notes, the committee found that it was “difficult to decide whether the word is an addition introduced by pious scribes (vg<sup>mss</sup> read Ἰησοῦς Χριστός), or was omitted either accidentally (ΟΚCIC) or intentionally (to bring the quotation more nearly into accord with Is 11.4).”<sup>88</sup> To Metzger’s internal evidence, we could also add the following data: (1) in the nominative, the bare ὁ κύριος, occurs thirty-one times in Paul while longer nominative combinations involving κύριος are quite rare: 1 Cor 11:23 (ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς); 1 Thess 3:11 (ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς); 2 Thess 2:16 (κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός). (2) For the oblique cases, the combination of κύριος and Ἰησοῦς (with or without ἡμῶν and Χριστός) occurs more in 2 Thess (and nearly as much in 1 Thess) than any other Pauline epistle—both in terms of total occurrences as well as frequency. Thus, would copyists or readers, in tune with the cadences of 1 and 2 Thessalonians, have been tempted (consciously or unconsciously) to expand ὁ κύριος to bring it into harmony with the longer combinations of divine names which are so common in the Thessalonian epistles? Or, were they tempted to delete it to conform it to Isa 11:4 where Yahweh is the subject and to bring it into line with typical Pauline usage in the nominative? In light all of this evidence, I think the balance of probabilities is rather even or unclear (both for external and internal evidence) and I have marked this variation unit with a ♦ due to this uncertainty.

ανελει {e>i}

This variation unit has four readings: (1) ἀνελεῖ (the future indicative of ἀναιρέω, “to kill”) is read by 02 03 025 81 203 256 436 1845 1912 2805, twenty-six other minuscules, and the entire Latin tradition; (2) ἀναλοῖ (the present indicative of ἀναλόω, an alternative present form of ἀναλίσκω,<sup>89</sup> “to kill” or “to consume”) is read by 01 and Origen; (3) ἀνέλοι (aorist

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<sup>88</sup> Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 568.

optative of ἀναιρέω) is read by 010 012 33 1739 (06 = *ut videtur* in NA28); (4) ἀναλώσει (future indicative of ἀναλίσκω) is read by 06C 6 1881 Byz. Other than RP, most editors and commentators have preferred ἀνελεῖ. In its favor is its early and strong external evidence. It also conforms with the form used in Isa 11:4, to which Paul appears to be alluding. Whether copyists or readers would have recognized this allusion and then conformed one of the other verbs forms to ἀνελεῖ is difficult to discern. Zimmer, Findlay, and Lightfoot have all gone a different direction favoring the reading of Sinaiticus (i.e., ἀναλοῖ). According to this line of reasoning, the present ἀναλοῖ is the most difficult reading (the context seems to demand the future) *and* provides the best explanation for the existence of the other readings: if ἀναλοῖ were the initial reading, it is unsurprising that it has been conformed to the future (i.e., ἀναλώσει) given the nearby καταργήσει or that the middle α has been confused for an ε as 012 often does<sup>90</sup> (thus the creation of the grammatically impossible optative, ἀνέλοι); ἀνελεῖ would have arisen either as another attempt to insert the expected future tense or as a harmonization to Isa 11:4. Zimmer prefers this approach, in part, because “da eine Verwechslung von οι und ει ohne Beispiel wäre.” If this is the case then the syntactically awkward ἀνέλοι provides an indirect testimony for ἀναλοῖ and, therefore, strengthens its external evidence which would otherwise be slim. However (contra Zimmer), though not necessarily the most frequent orthographic change, these two diphthongs (οι und ει) are certainly interchanged (or confused in the manuscripts).<sup>91</sup> Indeed, this happens twice in Augiensis (i.e., 010; cf. 1 Cor 13:5; 2 Cor 11:20) which testifies to ἀνέλοι here. This fact somewhat weakens Zimmer’s argument since an alternative hypothesis can be put forward:

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<sup>89</sup> Beekes, *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*, s.v., ἀναλίσκω; Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, s.v., ἀλίσκομαι.

<sup>90</sup> Or so claims Zimmer (*Der Text*, 75).

<sup>91</sup> A search using the CNTTS apparatus produced fifty-five examples of variant readings with -οι in place of -ει when the latter had been selected as the editorial reading.

ἀνέλοι arose from ἀνελεῖ for orthographic reasons, which gave rise to ἀναλοῖ, leaving ἀναλώσει again as a shift from the present ἀναλοῖ to the expected future tense (and, therefore, an assimilation to καταργήσει).<sup>92</sup>

Both hypothetical developments seem plausible and internal considerations are pitted against the external data: ἀναλοῖ is the more difficult reading but ἀνελεῖ has far better external support. I have a slight preference for ἀνελεῖ since the manuscript evidence for ἀναλοῖ is probably too thin to shift the balance of probabilities in its favor.

## 2 Thessalonians 2:10

αδικίας {e+i}

Thirty-four manuscripts (including 01 02 03 010 012 6 33 81 203 436 1739 1845 1881) have the anarthrous ἀδικίας while the Byzantine text and a handful of important manuscripts (including 06 025 256 1912 2805) have τῆς ἀδικίας. The external evidence, therefore, favors the shorter reading. Intrinsically, the anarthrous ἀδικίας may be more likely given the nearby parallel of the anarthrous genitive ψεύδους.<sup>93</sup> Lunemann makes the suggestion that “the last syllable of the preceding ἀπάτη gave occasion to this addition.”<sup>94</sup> The only evidence that could be mustered in favor of the article is Royse’s *lectio longior*, which, even if accepted, does not seem sufficient to overcome the external and internal evidence against it. Notwithstanding RP, all other major editions have viewed it as secondary.

τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις {e+i}

As far as I can tell, other than RP, not a single recent critical edition or commentary accepts the addition of the preposition ἐν before τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις, which is included in the

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<sup>92</sup> Cf. Frame (*Thessalonians*, 266).

<sup>93</sup> I owe this observation to Weima, *Thessalonians*, 566. Apollonius’ Canon does not seem to have any bearing on this passage since an anarthrous head noun in a prepositional phrase is a known semantic situation in which the rule is not followed (cf. Sanford D. Hull, “Exceptions to Apollonius’ Canon in the New Testament: A Grammatical Study” *TJ* 7 [1986], 6).

<sup>94</sup> Lunemann, *Thessalonians*, 202.

majority of Greek manuscripts including 6 203 256 436 1845 1881 Byz; Tischendorf also notes that it is read by Hippolytus, Chrysostom, and Theodoret. The manuscripts without ἐν are 01 02 03 06 010 012 0150 0278 33 81 1739 1912 2464 2544 2805; it is also absent from the entire Latin tradition. As for the internal data, the presence of ἐν just a few words earlier and perhaps the fact that the preposition offers a more “precise function”<sup>95</sup> for the phrase are against its inclusion. Rigaux and von Soden suggest that the preposition was added as a harmonization with 2 Cor 2:15; 4:3, but the phrase occurs without the preposition in 1 Cor 1:18. The external data clearly favors the bare τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις and the internal evidence is slightly in its favor as well.

## 2 Thessalonians 2:11

καὶ διὰ τοῦτο {e+i}

Eight manuscripts, including a few of significance, omit καί (06 6 941 1739 1751 1881 1910 1969). The prepositional phrase διὰ τοῦτο occurs twenty-two times in Paul and almost always as the initial phrase at the beginning of a sentence (or a clause) with only one instance occurring after a καί, namely, 1 Thess 2:13.<sup>96</sup> Regarding that passage, most commentators have accepted the καί given that it deviates from the typical Pauline pattern both throughout the epistles and in 1 Thess specifically (cf. 1 Thess 3:5, 7). And, more broadly, there does not seem to have been a great temptation to add καί before διὰ τοῦτο since only a handful of later manuscripts have done so across its twenty-two occurrences in Paul.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> Weima states “confusion about the precise function of the dative τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις led some copyists to add the preposition ἐν, thereby locating the deceptive signs and wonders of the lawless one ‘in’ or ‘among’ his followers” (*Thessalonians*, 566).

<sup>96</sup> In that instance, the Byzantine text and the so-called “Western” majuscules omit καί. Only 06 omits καί across both 1 Thess 2:13 and 2 Thess 2:11.

<sup>97</sup> The CNTTS apparatus shows that 1877, 1962, and 1724 have added καί before διὰ τοῦτο in Rom 4:16; 5:12; and 1 Thess 3:5, respectively.

The longer reading should be accepted here based on its better external evidence and the fact that it is the more unusual reading.<sup>98</sup>

πεμπει {e+i}

The Byzantine text along with 81 203 256 436 1845 1912 2805 it vg<sup>cl</sup> sa<sup>mss</sup> bo; Ir<sup>lat pt</sup> Ambst has the future πέμψει in place of the present πέμπει, which is supported by 01 02 03 06 010 012 6 33 1739 1881 vg<sup>st,ww</sup> sa<sup>ms</sup>; Ir<sup>gr,lat pt, arm</sup> Origen. The future would be expected given the eschatological context and the future-tense verbs from v. 8, making it highly likely to be secondary. The external and internal evidence favors the present tense.

## 2 Thessalonians 2:12

† απαντες {e<i}

This variation unit presents another instance where not much is at stake exegetically but where the critical editions and commentators have been divided. Should ἅπαντες or πάντες be regarded as the earlier reading? Critical editions favoring the former are Tischendorf, Zimmer, von Soden, Vogels, Merk, Bover, THGNT; the latter, NA28, SBLGNT, RP, WH. The manuscript evidence is generally balanced: support for ἅπαντες includes 01 02 010 012 33 81 203 1739 1881 *al*; for πάντες, 03 06 025 6 256 436 1845 1912 2805 Byz. From this I conclude that unless one simply prioritizes the readings of Vaticanus *a priori*, the internal evidence should decide the matter.

From an internal perspective, nothing obvious commends πάντες as the earliest reading. If it were prior, ἅπαντες must have arisen by mere accident. Of course, ἅπας is an “intensive form of πᾶς” used to emphasize the “whole” or “totality of a mass or object,”<sup>99</sup> but this subtle shift in meaning does not create an obvious enhancement of the verse nor would it be an expected change. On the other hand, ἅπας occurs only twice (Eph 6:13; 1 Tim 1:16) in the

<sup>98</sup> “Unusual” is Lunemann’s term from his comments on the variant in 1 Thess 2:13 (*Thessalonians*, 40).

<sup>99</sup> BDAG, s.v. ἅπας.

Pauline epistles whereas there are 464 occurrences of  $\pi\alpha\varsigma$ . The former would thus have been the rarer and perhaps more difficult reading. Moreover, of the 464 instances of  $\pi\alpha\varsigma$ ,  $\alpha\pi\alpha\varsigma$  occurs as an alternative reading in the CNTTS apparatus in just five verses and in each case with slim manuscript support.<sup>100</sup> So, a change from  $\pi\alpha\varsigma$  to  $\alpha\pi\alpha\varsigma$  does not appear to be a frequent or particularly tempting one. Along this line of reasoning, Zimmer adds the following observation: “ $\alpha\pi\alpha\varsigma$  für  $\pi\alpha\varsigma$  setzen an einigen Stellen bestimmt erst spätere Handschriften ein; . . . Aber umgekehrt tritt  $\pi\alpha\varsigma$  für  $\alpha\pi\alpha\varsigma$  häufiger ein.”<sup>101</sup>

It is perhaps telling that in 1 Tim 1:16, when the testimony of Vaticanus is lacunose, WH and NA28 have preferred  $\alpha\pi\alpha\sigma\alpha\nu$  over  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\nu$  despite the fact that the breakdown of the external evidence is otherwise quite similar to that of 2 Thess 2:12; in fact, this variation unit in 1 Tim is not even reported in either critical text. For all of the reasons stated above, I have a slight preference for  $\alpha\pi\alpha\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$  in 2 Thess 2:12.

τη αδικία {e+i}

Did the lack of symmetry between  $\tau\eta\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\theta\epsilon\iota\alpha$  and  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \tau\eta\ \acute{\alpha}\delta\iota\kappa\iota\alpha$  prompt the omission of  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  before  $\tau\eta\ \acute{\alpha}\delta\iota\kappa\iota\alpha$  (it is absent in 01 03 06 010 012 33 1739 1881 1912 *al* latt)? Or did the fact that the verb  $\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\delta\omicron\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\omega$  typically expects the preposition  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  lead to its addition (as in 02 025 6 81 203 256 436 1845 2805 Byz)?<sup>102</sup> There are twenty other occurrences of the verb  $\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\delta\omicron\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\omega$  in the New Testament. Of these, eight occur with just a complementary infinitive. The remaining examples, like 2 Thess 2:12, designate a person or object of “delight.”<sup>103</sup> Eight designate this person or object with the preposition  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ , two with  $\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \acute{\omicron}\nu$  (one of which is a

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<sup>100</sup> Namely, Rom 3:9 (012), 1 Cor 15:10 (01), Gal 3:28 (01 02 03C 1962), Eph 4:19 (945), 1 Thess 5:14 (33). These data are from the CNTTS apparatus with the manuscripts reading  $\alpha\pi\alpha\varsigma$  noted in parenthesis in the sentence above.

<sup>101</sup> Zimmer, “Zur Textkritik,” 335.

<sup>102</sup> BDAG, s.v.  $\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\delta\omicron\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ .

<sup>103</sup> Ibid.



quotation of Isa 42:1-4), and two with just an accusative direct object (though both of these are quotations from Ps. 40).<sup>104</sup> Also, for each of the two instances with εἰς ὃν, ἐν ᾧ occurs as an alternative reading in some manuscripts.<sup>105</sup> Thus, ἐν plus a dative object seems to be the more typical formula for the New Testament. And even though the bare dative does not occur elsewhere in the New Testament with the verb εὐδοκέω, LSJ still lists it as a grammatical possibility with εὐδοκέω.<sup>106</sup> Based on the considerations above, it would seem that τῇ ἀδικίᾳ is the more difficult reading, which, when paired with the external evidence, makes it preferable.

## 2 Thessalonians 2:13

υπο κυριου {e>i}

Several readings exist for this variation unit. Two manuscripts and a substantial number of Latin witnesses read ὑπὸ θεοῦ (06 1995 lat). This reading is best seen both as derivative of ὑπὸ κυρίου and as an attempt at harmonization with the two other forms of θεός that occur in the immediate context. Two of the so-called “Western” witnesses have the ungrammatical ὑπὸ κυρίῳ (010 012),<sup>107</sup> which should simply be viewed as an error and again as derivative of ὑπὸ κυρίου. As for ὑπὸ κυρίου itself, it has substantial support (03 06C1 6 33 203 256 436 1739 1845 1881 1912 2805 Byz). At issue is whether it developed out of ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου or vice versa—this longer reading is found in 01 02 044 61 81 606 1899 1945. To this manuscript evidence for the longer reading, we can also add three other manuscripts

<sup>104</sup> For occurrences with just the infinitive see Luke 12:32; Rom 15:26, 27; 1 Cor 1:21; 2 Cor 5:8; Gal 1:15; 1 Thess 2:8; 3:1; for occurrences with ἐν see Matt 3:17; 17:5; Mark 1:11; Luke 3:22; 1 Cor 10:5; 2 Cor 12:10; Col 1:19; Heb 10:38; for occurrences with εἰς ὃν see Matt 12:18; 2 Pet 1:17; for occurrences with a simple accusative direct object see Heb 10:6, 8.

<sup>105</sup> 04 05 33 1424 and 1582 read ἐν ᾧ in Matt 12:18 as do 044 33 1241 1245 1505 in 2 Pet 1:17. These data are from the CNTTS apparatus.

<sup>106</sup> It lists all of the following: “c. dat.,” ἐν τινι,” “εἰς τινα,” “ἐπὶ τινα,” and “c. acc.” (LSJ, s.v. εὐδοκέω).

<sup>107</sup> Actually, the preposition can take the dative in Attic Greek (Smyth § 1698) though as BDAG notes “in our lit. not w. dat.” (BDAG, s.v. ὑπό).

reported in von Soden (69 326 467) and two from the CNTTS apparatus (209 2501), bringing the total support to thirteen manuscripts. Interestingly, this reading is not even reported in NA28 (though θεοῦ appears in the apparatus as a reading of 06), despite the fact that a comparable variant is reported and even bracketed in the mainline text in 1 Thess 1:4—a variant with similar manuscript support to the present unit both in terms of quality and quantity (for 1 Thess 1:4, NA28 reports fourteen manuscripts in favor of ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ over ὑπὸ θεοῦ including 01 02 044 81). Nevertheless, in the current instance, ὑπὸ κυρίου probably has the better external support.

The intrinsic evidence for this variation unit is somewhat ambiguous: ὑπὸ κυρίου occurs one other time in Paul as does ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου (though it is bracketed in 1 Cor 11:32); additionally, the similar form ὑπὸ θεοῦ occurs two times in Paul while ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ occurs six times; from a wider view, ὑπό plus an anarthrous genitive noun occurs a total of five times in the Pauline corpus (all with divine names) while ὑπό plus an arthrous genitive noun occurs fifteen times (but only seven with divine names). Thus, the anarthrous version occurs less frequently but cannot quite be called rare and occurs nearly as often with divine names. Moreover, of the twelve instances of either construction occurring with a divine name, all but two have the counterpart (arthrous or anarthrous) version appearing somewhere in the manuscript tradition. So, the transcriptional evidence is also ambiguous.

Ultimately, the better manuscript support for ὑπὸ κυρίου tips the balance of probability in its favor. However, the difference between the probability of these two readings is not much and, therefore, this variant should probably be added to the next edition of NA. It is also a variation unit for which the CBGM may be able to provide more insight.

εἶλατο { e+i }

Although both the first aorist (εἶλατο) and second aorist (εἴλετο) are attested in Greek literature, the former occurs with less frequency and, in the present verse, has much better

external support (01 02 03 06 010 012 33 81 1845 1912 *al*).<sup>108</sup> Thus, εἴλετο is best seen as a grammatical correction of mostly later manuscripts (6 203 256 436 1739 1881 *Byz*).<sup>109</sup>

απαρχήν {e<i>

This variation unit represents another instance of substantial disagreement over the earliest reading. At issue is whether the earlier text was ἀπαρχήν (“firstfruits) or ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς (“from the beginning”). Both readings have strong external support: ἀπαρχήν is supported by 03 010 012 33 81 256 1739 1881 1912 *al* vg sy<sup>h</sup> bo; ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς is supported by 01 06 6 203 436 1845 2805 *Byz* it vg<sup>ms</sup> sy<sup>p</sup> sa.<sup>110</sup> Among critical editions, NA28, von Soden, Merk, Bover, and SBLGNT have favored the former while Tischendorf, WH, Vogels, RP, Tregelles the latter. The THGNT places a diamond next to the reading. Just as much disagreement prevails among commentators: Fee, Malherbe, and Weima prefer ἀπαρχήν; Frame, Wannamaker, Rigaux, and Dobschütz defend ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς; Findlay is ambivalent. Highlighting the evenness of the evidence between both readings is that fact that Zimmer changed his preference from ἀπαρχήν to ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς between his 1888 article, “Zur Textkritik des zweiten Thessalonicherbriefes,” and his 1893 textual commentary.

Given that the weight of the manuscript tradition is evenly split for this variation unit, text critics and exegetes have had recourse only to internal evidence to defend their preference between the two readings. Below, I recount what I consider the best arguments for each.

In favor of ἀπαρχήν is the fact that it occurs six other times in Paul while ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς occurs nowhere else in his epistles.<sup>111</sup> And when ἀρχή is used it typically denotes “power” or

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<sup>108</sup> LSJ, s.v. αἰρέω. In the TLG, εἴλατο produced far fewer results.

<sup>109</sup> For 1845 I have read εἰλ[1]το.

<sup>110</sup> Unfortunately, Alexandrinus is lacunose for this section.

<sup>111</sup> Cf. Rom 8:23; 11:16; 16:5; 1 Cor 15:20, 23; 16:15. Frame notes that the closest equivalents for ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς are πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων (1 Cor 2:7), ἀπὸ τῶν αἰώνων (Col 1:26), and πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου (Eph 1:4)

“powers” and is rarely used temporally as would be the case here.<sup>112</sup> Additionally, as Fee emphasizes, ἀπαρχήν is the more difficult reading to make sense of in the context (more on this below) while ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς presents no exegetical difficulties.<sup>113</sup> Finally, it is often pointed out that in two other instances manuscripts have replaced ἀπαρχήν with ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς: Rom 16:5 (P46 06), Rev 14:4 (01 336 1773 1918 2495). To these examples, 1 Cor 16:15 should also be added where 06 yet again reads ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς in place of ἀπαρχή. On the other hand, it is worth noting that in Col 1:18 two manuscripts (33 1874) have made the opposite change (ἀρχή to ἀπαρχή) as has Alexandrinus in Sir 24:9 (ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς to ἀπαρχήν).<sup>114</sup> Nevertheless, these counterexamples should probably carry less weight as they do not involve the actual major majuscules (i.e., 01 and 06) in play in this textual dilemma.

Turning now to evidence in favor of ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς, some commentators argue that ἀπαρχήν is actually so difficult hermeneutically that it is less likely to have been Pauline at all.<sup>115</sup> It lacks the typical genitive qualifier that would have brought clarity and which accompanies the term in four of the other six usages (e.g., Paul writes “firstfruits of *Achaia*” in 1 Cor 16:15 when referring to the household of Stephanus).<sup>116</sup> In what sense, therefore, could the Thessalonians have been firstfruits? They were not the “first converts” or “firstfruits” of their

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(Frame, *Thessalonians*, 280). Of course, one could argue that the fact that ἀπαρχήν is the more frequent term makes it less likely to have been original but most commentators have not pressed this point.

<sup>112</sup> There are eleven instances in Paul with one clear example of a temporal usage (Phil 4:15) and another potential example (Col 1:18).

<sup>113</sup> Fee, *Thessalonians*, 298 n. 92.

<sup>114</sup> I came across Col 1:18 via the CNTTS apparatus while Sir 24:9 is noted in Frame (*Thessalonians*, 281).

<sup>115</sup> For instance, Marshall states “The decisive argument against the variant [firstfruits] is that it does not make sense of the context” (I. Howard Marshall, *1 and 2 Thessalonians: A Commentary* [NCBC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983], 207 as quoted in Weima, *Thessalonians*, 551). See also Wannamaker’s comments in *The Epistles to the Thessalonians: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (NIGNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990), 266.

<sup>116</sup> Namely, in Rom 8:23; 11:16; 16:5; 1 Cor 15:20, 23; 16:15.

province (i.e., Macedonia)—strictly speaking, that title would have belonged to the Philippian church (cf. Acts 16–17; 1 Thess 2:2). This ambiguity has been one of the major issues leading commentators to prefer “from the beginning.” Frame summarizes the problem succinctly: “The absence of the qualifying genitive in this passage suggests either that the Thessalonians are first in value, a choice fruit, which is improbable; or that they are the first in time, which is impossible, for they are not even the first-fruits of Macedonia.”<sup>117</sup> However, I believe that there are adequate responses to Frame’s hermeneutical objections.<sup>118</sup> Regarding the Macedonian issue, I find Weima’s (and Fee’s) response convincing:

But this argument assumes that Paul intended something that he does not say: “firstfruits of *Macedonia*.” It is more likely the case, however, that, “since Paul does not qualify ‘first fruits’ in any way, he almost certainly intended these believers to see themselves more narrowly as God’s ‘first fruits’ in *Thessalonica*” (Fee 2009: 302), that is, the first of many others from their city who would yet become believers. But even if Paul were thinking more broadly of the Thessalonian believers as the firstfruits of Macedonia, such a metaphor could justly be made in light of both the brief time that had elapsed between Paul’s ministry in Philippi and that in Thessalonica, and also the striking success of his Thessalonian ministry (Milligan 1908: 106–7).<sup>119</sup>

A similar and second argument raised in favor of ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς is that it “suits Paul’s purpose of encouraging the fainthearted better than ἀπαρχήν.”<sup>120</sup> That is to say, knowing that God chose them “from the beginning of time”<sup>121</sup> would have allegedly provided more comfort to the Thessalonian Christians following a section on eschatological judgment (2 Thess 2:1–12) than simply knowing that they were “firstfruits.” This may be the case but this argument perhaps loses sight of the fact that the title of ἀπαρχήν seems to have been one of

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<sup>117</sup> Frame, *Thessalonians*, 281.

<sup>118</sup> I believe Weima has also adequately addressed Frame’s objection about the improbability of a qualitative (“first in value”) interpretation of ἀπαρχήν (cf. Weima, *Thessalonians*, 551).

<sup>119</sup> Weima, *Thessalonians*, 550. Fee and Weima (building on Fee) provide the best defense of ἀπαρχήν among the commentaries. See especially Fee’s *To What End Exegesis? Essays Textual, Exegetical, and Theological* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), 75–76.

<sup>120</sup> Frame, *Thessalonians*, 280.

<sup>121</sup> Wannamaker, *Thessalonians*, 266.

significance for Paul. For instance, in Romans 16, a chapter in which Paul’s agenda is to honor and list the accolades of those to whom he is sending greetings, he designates Epaphroditus as the “firstfruit of Asia”—other accolades occurring in this chapter include “deacon,” “patron,” “apostle,” “kinsman,” “fellow worker,” “fellow prisoner,” and “beloved.” Paul also uses the term to honor Stephanus and his household in 1 Cor 16:15. It is also worth noting that Paul assigned great importance to preaching the gospel in a new territory (cf. Rom 15:20; 2 Cor 10:13–14). Thus, one can imagine the first converts or “firstfruits” in a *new territory* being a title of significance. It is difficult to judge how much comfort this would have provided the Thessalonians but it should certainly be considered an important Pauline designation. But perhaps what would have brought the Thessalonians sufficient encouragement would not have been the term ἀπαρχήν or the phrase ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς but the fact that God “chose” them εἰς σωτηρίαν (“to be saved” ESV). In other words, verse 13 with its emphasis on the divine sovereign choice for salvation probably provided adequate encouragement regardless of the outcome of this text-critical decision.

Although I was initially tempted to designate this variation unit as ♦, I have come to have a slight preference for ἀπαρχήν. It seems better to prefer a Pauline word that does not occur that often and whose meaning in context is somewhat ambiguous than a non-Pauline phrase which provides a smoother reading. Moreover, two of the weighty supporters (01 06) of ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς read ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς against the editorial text of NA28 elsewhere and, as has been demonstrated above, reasonable interpretations are available so that ἀπαρχήν is not impossible in context.

## 2 Thessalonians 2:14

καὶ {e<i>

Thirty-seven manuscripts have an adverbial καί (“also”) immediately following εἰς ὃ (including 01 010 012 81 256 436 1845 1912 2805 lat sy<sup>h</sup>). Without the conjunction are the

following witnesses: 03 06 6 33 203 1739 1881 Byz ar b m<sup>\*</sup> vg<sup>mss</sup> sy<sup>p</sup> sa. Fee asserts that this textual dilemma sets the better external evidence against the more difficult reading: “The ‘difficulty’ in this case is related to one’s textual proclivities, in that it [καί] is missing in what most scholars consider to be the better evidence, but its presence seems also to be the more difficult reading (i.e., it is difficult to imagine the circumstances in which scribes would have *added* a καί here when it seems so unnecessary to the overall sense).”<sup>122</sup> Those who reject the καί include WH, Merk, Tregelles, RP, Frame, SBL and THGNT. NA28 brackets it. All other recent editions and most commentators prefer it. Zimmer notes that the manuscripts more often omit adverbial καί than add it.<sup>123</sup> This observation combined with the fact that it is the more difficult reading—in my opinion—shifts the evidence in its favor.

υμας {e<i>

Although an impressive list of manuscripts read ἡμᾶς (02 03 06 1881 *al*), the third-person pronoun makes little sense in context: “God chose you as the firstfruits to be saved through the sanctification by the Spirit and believe in the truth. To this he called us through our gospel, unto the acquisition the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ.”<sup>124</sup> It should, therefore, be rejected as an orthographic mistake.

## 2 Thessalonians 2:16

Ιησους Χριστος {e+i}

Four variants occur for this unit: (1) Ἰησοῦς Χριστός read by 01 06 010 012 025 6 33 81 203 256 436 1845 1912 2805 Byz; (2) Χριστός Ἰησοῦς read by 03 1739 1881; (3) Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός read by 02 075 1908 1910; (4) Ἰησους read by 88 915 1830. The fourth reading should be rejected due to its insufficient attestation. The third reading, which does not occur

<sup>122</sup> Fee, *Thessalonians*, 298.

<sup>123</sup> Zimmer, “Zur Textkritik,” 336–37.

<sup>124</sup> I have modified the ESV for this translation.

elsewhere in the Pauline epistles, is likely an attempt to provide a structural parallel to the nearby ὁ θεός.<sup>125</sup> In favor of the second reading is the fact that it is a combination, which, though frequent in Paul,<sup>126</sup> does not occur otherwise in 2 Thessalonians, whereas Ἰησοῦς Χριστός (variously declined) occurs eight other times. Thus, one could argue that it is the more difficult reading. Nevertheless, the comment of Findlay seems damning for its case: “[Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς is] an order of the names found seven times in B where no other MS. presents it.”<sup>127</sup> In light of this observation and the first reading’s stronger external evidence, Ἰησοῦς Χριστός should be preferred.

◆ ο θεος ο πατηρ {e=i}

Editions typically break this variation into separate units: ὁ θεός on the one hand and ὁ πατήρ on the other. However, as will become clear below, this atomistic approach obscures the actual amount of manuscript support (or lack thereof) for the whole phrase. At issue is whether θεός was arthrous or anarthrous and whether it was followed by ὁ πατήρ or καὶ πατήρ. The καὶ has perhaps been rejected because θεός καὶ πατήρ (variously declined) occurs twelve times in Paul and in a parallel passage in 1 Thess 3:11 while its counterpart, θεός ὁ πατήρ, does not occur elsewhere in the Pauline epistles and should, therefore, be considered the more difficult reading.<sup>128</sup> Additionally, the manuscripts in favor of the article (ὁ πατήρ) are 01 03 06 010 012 33 442 1311 1739 1881 1991 ar vg<sup>mss</sup> sy<sup>p</sup> co while the conjunction (καὶ πατήρ) is supported by 02 06C 025 6 81 203 436 1845 1912 2805 Byz lat sy<sup>h</sup>. Thus, most of our best and earliest manuscripts support the article over καὶ.

<sup>125</sup> The manuscripts reading Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός also read ὁ θεός.

<sup>126</sup> Both Ἰησοῦς Χριστός (variously declined) and Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς occur with frequency in Paul: eighty and eighty-nine times respectively.

<sup>127</sup> Findlay, *Thessalonians*, 161.

<sup>128</sup> 1 Cor 8:6 should not be considered a true occurrence of this phrase since in that instance θεός is functioning as a predicate nominative.



As for the first part of the variation unit, ὁ θεός is supported by 01 02 06C 010 012 025 6 81 203 256 436 1845 1912 2805 Byz while the anarthrous θεός is read by 01C 03 06 33 1739 1881 *al.* Clearly some important manuscripts support the anarthrous version. And it is also the more difficult reading. The anarthrous nominative θεός does occur with frequency in Paul and in the New Testament but almost always with an equative verb (actual or implied), which is not the case in 2 Thess 2:16. In fact, I could find only one exception in the Pauline epistles where an equative verb was not present (or implied), that is, Gal 6:7 (θεός οὐ μυκτηρίζεται). Therefore, the anarthrous θεός is also the more difficult reading. Given its difficulty and the significance of the manuscripts that support it, some editors have bracketed the article, namely, NA28, WH, and Merk. Editions in favor of the article are Zimmer, RP, THGNT, Tischendorf, Bover, Vogels; those against it are SBLGNT, von Soden, Tregelles.

Approaching this variation unit as two separate units—as I have just done above and as it is typically approached—potentially conceals the small number of manuscripts that actually support one of the two accepted readings for the whole phrase, ὁ θεὸς ὁ πατήρ or θεὸς ὁ πατήρ. Indeed, the former is supported by only six manuscripts (01 010 012 442 1311 1991) and the latter by only five (03 06 33 1739 1881). That said, I still find it likely that one of these two readings was the earliest. The only viable alternative is ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατήρ (06C 025 6 81 256 436 1845 1912 2805 Byz). As for judging between ὁ θεὸς ὁ πατήρ and θεὸς ὁ πατήρ, the anarthrous θεός is the more difficult reading though “ο before θεος ... [could] be a letter easily overlooked in uncial writing before θ.”<sup>129</sup> In the end, I find it more likely that one of these two readings was the earliest but I find it unclear as to which and have indicated this doubtfulness with a ♦.

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<sup>129</sup> Findlay, *Thessalonians*, 161.

## 2 Thessalonians 2:17

υμων τας καρδιας {e+i}

Sinaiticus (01) and a handful of other manuscripts (02V 629 2544) have τᾷς καρδίᾳς ὑμῶν. This reading should be rejected due to its modest external evidence and the fact that nothing internally commends it.

στηριξαι {e+i}

All of our best and earliest witnesses lack ὑμᾶς after στηρίζαι (01 02 03 06 010 012 025 6 33 81 256 1739 1881 1845 1912 2805 *pm*). Those that include it are 06C 203 436 Byz. No internal evidence appears to commend the inclusion of the pronoun. Moreover, I located three other occurrences where 06C plus Byz have a clarifying ὑμᾶς with a bare infinitive (1 Cor 10:13; Col 1:10; 1 Thess 3:2).

εργω και λογω αγαθω {e+i}

Fifty-four manuscripts (including 010 012 6 203 436 2805 Byz b m sy<sup>p</sup>) transpose the order of the words in the editorial text to λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ. This reading should be rejected given its competitor's textual support (01 02 03 06 025 81 256 1739 1881 1845 1912 *pm*)<sup>130</sup> and because it conforms to the Pauline order used elsewhere (cf. Rom 15:18; Col 3:17).<sup>131</sup> Perhaps what is most interesting about this variation unit is how it has been cited in the NA27 and NA28 editions. In NA27, the evidence is listed as “F G K 6. 323. 630. 1175 *al* b m (sy<sup>p</sup>).” However, following the decision to abandon using *pc* and *al*,<sup>132</sup> NA28 lists the evidence as “F G K 6. 323. 630. 1175 b m (sy<sup>p</sup>).” Note how the loss of “*al*” obscures the evidence. Now this variant appears to be the reading of only a handful of manuscripts when in fact it may actually be the reading of the majority of manuscripts. Indeed, it is read by four

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<sup>130</sup> GA 33 has only ἔργῳ.

<sup>131</sup> Of course, one could argue that two other examples hardly makes something “more frequent.”

<sup>132</sup> NA28, “Introduction,” 49.

of the five of my “pure” Byzantine manuscripts (35 517 999 1609) and von Soden’s K text supports it—this latter fact most likely led to its becoming the mainline text in RP (RP does not indicate a split tradition here). On the other hand, the majority of manuscripts in my edition (i.e., sixty-eight MSS) support ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ. This may indicate that the Byzantine tradition is split for this variation unit. In any case, NA27 probably should have written *pm* rather than *al* and the data in the critical apparatus in the next Nestle-Aland iteration is probably due for a revision.

## 2 Thessalonians 3:1

προσευχεσθε αδελφοι {e+i}

The term αδελφοι at the beginning of 2 Thess 3:1 occurs after προσεύχεσθε in the majority of Greek manuscripts, but is also found before it (010 012 1739 1881 *pc*) as well as after περὶ ὑμῶν (06 1845 *pc*). Their lack of strong external support—and the former variant’s conformity to Paul’s typical pattern (cf. 2 Cor 13:11; Phil 3:1; 4:8; 1 Thess 4:1; 5:25)—makes these readings clearly secondary.

## 2 Thessalonians 3:3

εστιν ο κυριος {e+i}

A few readings occur for this variation unit. Most manuscripts and those with the highest pregenealogical coherence with the editorial text (03 025 6 33 81 203 256 436 1739 1881 Byz) read ἐστιν ὁ κύριος. From this variant, the singular reading of Sinaiticus (01) most likely arose: ὁ κύριός ἐστιν. A few important majuscules (02 06) along with a few other manuscripts (0151 1912 2464 2805) read ἐστιν ὁ θεός. Finally, two of the so-called “Western” majuscules (010 012) drop ἐστιν, reading ὁ θεός alone. The external evidence supports the editorial text. The internal evidence also supports the editorial text: “God is faithful” (cf. 1 Cor 1:9; 10:13; 2 Cor 1:18) is the typical Pauline formula while “The Lord is faithful” occurs only here.

στηρίξει (e>i)

As Weima notes, Vaticanus (03) has the alternative future form στηρίσει.<sup>133</sup> Two of the “Western” majuscules (010 012) also have the reading of τηρήσει. Neither of these variants has a good claim to being the earliest reading. I note them here only because they are reported in the NA28 apparatus.

## 2 Thessalonians 3:4

παραγγελομεν {e+i}

The addition of ὑμῖν by the majority of manuscripts (010 012 025V 81 203 256 436 1845 1881 1912 2805 Byz) should be viewed as a clarification perhaps influenced by 2 Thess 3:6. Strong external evidence supports the editorial text (01 03 06 6 33 1739 *pc* vg Ambst).

◆ και ποιειτε και ποιησετε {e=i}

There is substantial division among the critical editions regarding the earliest reading for this variation unit. At issue is whether an adverbial καί (“also”) immediately followed the relative clause ἃ παραγγέλλομεν or not. In other words, was ποίειτε καὶ ποιήσετε or καὶ ποίειτε καὶ ποιήσετε the earliest reading? THGNT and SBLGNT both include the καί as does Rigaux in his commentary. Tischendorf and Zimmer omit it. NA28, von Soden, and WH place it within brackets. As for the manuscript evidence, not many manuscripts exclude it, but a few of those that do are weighty (01 02 06 6 218 629 1661 1678 1739 1881 b d m vg<sup>mss</sup>). Those that include καί are 03 010 012 025 33 81 203 256 436 1845 1912 2805 Byz. Also, as TuT makes clear, there are other less significant variations among the manuscripts for this unit. Indeed, TuT testifies to fifteen different readings. Notable among these readings, are those of Vaticanus (03) and the so-called “Western” majuscules (010 012). Both include the aorist: Vaticanus reads και εποιησατε και ποιειτε και ποιησετε while Augiensis and

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<sup>133</sup> Weima, *Thessalonians*, 628.

Boernerianus read *καὶ ἐποιήσατε καὶ ποιεῖτε*.<sup>134</sup> Concerning these readings, Frame writes “either B is original with its unexpected aorist after *παραγγέλλομεν*, or the seat of trouble is the itacism *ποιήσατε* which D preserves.”<sup>135</sup> Findlay prefers the hypothesis that the aorist, *ἐποιήσατε*, attested by these majuscules was a part of the earliest reading.<sup>136</sup> Alternatively, Zimmer views the reading of Vaticanus (03) as an early emendation (the aorist added for the sake of completeness perhaps?) and that of Boernerianus (012) as being influenced by its Latin text (*et fecistis et facietis*).<sup>137</sup> In any case, either reading should probably be viewed as secondary given their lack of additional external support. Furthermore, Frame and Zimmer have offered probable suggestions as to how these readings arose.

Returning now to the *καί*, either reading is explicable from an intrinsic perspective: in Roman 8:29 (*οὗς προέγνω καὶ προώρισεν*) Paul used an adverbial *καί* immediately following a relative pronoun and a verb while in Philemon 21 he has excluded it (*ἃ λέγω ποιήσεις*). Weima notes that “it is hard to discern whether it [*καί*] was deleted as either redundant or awkward, or if it was added to agree with similar Pauline expressions of affirmation (1 Thess 4:1, 10; 5:11).”<sup>138</sup> Though Weima has probably identified the two best explanations at hand for the omission or addition of *καί*, I find neither explanation to be that powerful. Is an adverbial *καί* here really that awkward or redundant? And the “similar” expressions in 1 Thess have some noteworthy differences.<sup>139</sup> Ultimately, I find it difficult to

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<sup>134</sup> As noted above, Claromontanus lacks the *καί*. However, it still includes the aorist form: *ποιεῖτε καὶ ποιήσατε*.

<sup>135</sup> Frame, *Thessalonians*, 296.

<sup>136</sup> Findlay is not entirely clear as to whether he thinks Vaticanus or the “Western” majuscules preserve the earliest reading (Findlay, *Thessalonians*, 196). He also appears to have misinterpreted the evidence assuming that Boernerianus (012) read merely *καὶ ποιήσατε*.

<sup>137</sup> Zimmer, *Der Text*, 78.

<sup>138</sup> Weima, *Thessalonians*, 628.

<sup>139</sup> Namely, 1 Thess 4:1 and 5:11 both also include a *καθώς* while 4:10 lacks a relative clause.

explain the omission of the καί had it been the earliest reading and yet some of our most important witnesses exclude it (01 02 06 1739 1881). For this reason, I think NA28, von Soden, and WH are right to bracket it and I have, therefore, included a ♦ to indicate the uncertainty for this variation unit.

## 2 Thessalonians 3:6

του κυριου ημων Ιησου Χριστου {e>i}

Two important majuscules (03 06) omit ἡμῶν.<sup>140</sup> Nevertheless, most editions accept it including Tischendorf, Zimmer, von Zoden, SBLGNT, and THGNT. The ἡμῶν is bracketed by WH and NA28. Among commentators, it is accepted by Findlay, Frame, Rigaux, Weima, and Fee. What then has given WH and NA28 pause? Though speculative, I would suspect that the following have been operative in their reasoning: (1) the importance attributed to Vaticanus, (2) the combination of Vaticanus with an important “Western” majuscule, and (3) the fact that it is the shorter reading. On the other hand, the importance attributed to the length of a reading has diminished in recent years.<sup>141</sup> And Vaticanus also lacks ἡμῶν in an identical variation unit in 2 Thess 2:1. So, despite the fact that the full phrase (τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ) occurs more frequently in Paul than its shorter counterparts,<sup>142</sup> I have included the ἡμῶν in the editorial text given the internal considerations noted above and its stronger external evidence.

παρελάβοσαν {e<i}

Four primary readings occur for this variation unit: (1) παρελάβοσαν attested by 01 02 06 (ἐλάβοσαν) 0278 33 88 1751 1845 Basil<sup>mss</sup>; (2) παρέλαβον attested by 01C 06C 025

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<sup>140</sup> Tischendorf’s apparatus also notes that a few Latin manuscripts and some of our evidence from Cyprian and John of Damascus omit the ἡμῶν.

<sup>141</sup> See Chapter 1, “Introduction,” 26.

<sup>142</sup> I list the frequency of the various combinations in 1:7 above.

81 203 256 1739 1881 Byz; (3) παρελάβετε attested by 03 010 012 436 1912 2805 *pc* *vg*<sup>mss</sup> *sy*<sup>h</sup> *sa*; (4) παρέλαβε(ν) attested by 1942 1962 2002 2482. Readings (2) and (4) are viewed as secondary among commentators: παρέλαβον is considered a grammatical correction of παρελάβοσαν, which has a rare aorist ending (-οσαν),<sup>143</sup> while the singular παρέλαβε(ν) is typically considered an attempt to conform the verb to the corresponding singular παντὸς ἀδελφοῦ which occurs a few words earlier.<sup>144</sup> This leaves readings (1) and (3) for serious consideration, namely παρελάβοσαν and παρελάβετε. However, given that παρέλαβον (2) is most likely a correction derivative from παρελάβοσαν, its external support should perhaps be considered indirect testimony for παρελάβοσαν and, thus, buttress its external support. Consequently, both παρελάβοσαν and παρελάβετε have broad and strong manuscript testimony.<sup>145</sup>

Turning now to the internal evidence, the majority of the data favors παρελάβοσαν since it is clearly the most difficult reading. Indeed, both the immediate context and Paul's practice elsewhere make παρελάβετε expected. In the immediate context (v. 6) Paul is directly addressing the Thessalonian congregation (ἀδελφοί) and, in fact, utilizes the second person plural in the subsequent verse (αὐτοὶ γὰρ οἶδατε). Additionally, only the second person is used in similar contexts elsewhere in the Pauline corpus (cf. 1 Cor 15:1; Gal 1:9; Col 2:6; Phil 4:9; 1 Thess 4:1). Finally, when the aorist ending -οσαν occurs in the New Testament it is frequently and broadly corrected to the more typical -ον ending among the

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<sup>143</sup> I count only nineteen occurrences of ἐλάβοσαν or παρελάβοσαν in Greek literary texts (via the TLG). The similar form εἶχσαν occurs thirteen times in Greek literature. Blass-Debrunner-Funk note that the form -οσαν for the third plural is much more frequent in the LXX and the papyri (BDF § 84.2). See also the comments in Winer (*Grammar*, 13.2.f) and Moulton-Howard II, 209.

<sup>144</sup> Cf. Rigaux, *Thessaloniciens*, 703; Dobschütz, *Thessaloniker-Briefe*, 310–311, n. 5; Frame, *Thessalonians*, 300; Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 569.

<sup>145</sup> Note also the evidence for both readings from UBS5: For the third plural, UBS5 lists it<sup>ar</sup>, (b), d, f g(v.r.), mon, o *vg* *syr*<sup>p</sup> *cop*<sup>sa(ms)</sup> slav Theodorelat; Cyprian Ambrosiaster Lucifer Pelatius Augustine Speculum. For the second plural, it lists it<sup>g(txt)</sup> *vg*<sup>mss</sup> *syr*<sup>h</sup> *cop*<sup>sa(mss)</sup> arm Basil<sup>mss</sup>, Ps-Cyprian.

manuscripts,<sup>146</sup> whereas the reverse correction is rare and an idiosyncrasy of only a few manuscripts.<sup>147</sup>

Based on these internal considerations, almost all editions and commentators prefer *παρελάβοσαν*, the exceptions being Tregelles, WH, Weiss, Frame, and NA25, who favor *παρελάβετε*. WH suggest that *παρελάβετε* should be accepted on the grounds that Paul nowhere else uses the rare -οσαν ending and since *παρελάβοσαν* might have “originate[d] in an ocular confusion with –οσιν (*παράδοσιν*) in the corresponding place of the line above.”<sup>148</sup> Weiss views *παρελάβοσαν* as an “Alexandrian” emendation intended to emphasize the insubordination of those “walking in idleness” (ESV).<sup>149</sup> Frame cites both WH and Weiss in his defense of *παρελάβετε*.<sup>150</sup>

I find Weiss’ reasoning plausible but less weighty in the balance of probabilities when compared with the internal evidence favoring *παρελάβοσαν*. Had *παρελάβοσαν* been the earliest reading, its difficulty easily explains the rise of the other reading. Had *παρελάβετε* been earliest, we must assume not only a change toward the third person plural, but simultaneously that a rare form of the verb was utilized. As for WH’s note about “ocular confusion,” this again seems possible but less convincing in view of the multiple points in favor of *παρελάβοσαν*: (1) it is the unexpected grammatical form, (2) the only instance of the third person plural of this verb in Paul, and (3) occurs in a context anticipatory of the use of the second person. One wonders if the reason for WH’s preference for *παρελάβετε* actually

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<sup>146</sup> I count two other occurrences in NA28 with an unexpected -οσαν ending, namely, John 15:22, 24—both of which include *εἶχοσαν*. For each instance, the majority of manuscripts have the expected form *εἶχον* (these data are courtesy of the CNTTS apparatus).

<sup>147</sup> In the CNTTS apparatus, I count eleven instances, most of which are singular readings and six by Codex Bezae alone (05).

<sup>148</sup> Westcott and Hort, *Introduction and Appendix: Appendix*, “Notes on Orthography,” 165.

<sup>149</sup> D. Bernhard Weiss, *Das Neue Testament: Textkritische Untersuchungen und Textherstellung* (zweiter Thiel; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1896), 57.

<sup>150</sup> Frame, *Thessalonians*, 300.



lies elsewhere: for this verse Fee notes their penchant for “the combination of B with significant members of the Western tradition.”<sup>151</sup> Strong external support and the better internal evidence make *παρελάβοσαν* the preferred reading.

*παρ ημων {e>i}*

The reading *ἀφ’ ἡμῶν* is only found in 03 and a few other manuscripts (104 459 630 1838). It appears to be rejected by all editors and commentators with the exception of Weiss who sees *παρά* as “an assimilation to the verb” and to 1 Thess 2:13; 4:1.<sup>152</sup> In addition to those instances, Paul also uses *παρά* with *παραλαμβάνω* in Gal 1:12. He uses *ἀπό* with *παραλαμβάνω* in 1 Cor 11:23. How or why *ἀπό* would have emerged from an original *παρά* in this context is not obvious. And this is not a frequent emendation among the manuscripts: I count only ten instances<sup>153</sup> where *παρά* has been replaced by *ἀπό*—though one of which is a singular reading of Vaticanus (Mark 14:43). On the other hand, in the one example where Paul used *ἀπό* with *παραλαμβάνω*, only Claromontanus (06) reads *παρά*, suggesting that *ἀπό* plus *παραλαμβάνω* would not have been an uncomfortable combination. In the end, the external testimony for *παρά* should probably tip the scales in its favor.

## 2 Thessalonians 3:8

*αρτον εφαγομεν {e+i}*

Eighteen manuscripts read the alternative *ἄρτον ἐλάβομεν*. None of these manuscripts are among my consistently cited witnesses. The verb *λαμβάνω* occurs frequently with *ἄρτος* in the New Testament and in familiar Eucharistic passages (cf. Matt 26:26; Mark 14:22; Luke

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<sup>151</sup> Fee, *Thessalonians*, 326 n. 54.

<sup>152</sup> As noted in Findlay, *Thessalonians*, 197.

<sup>153</sup> These are courtesy of the CNTTS apparatus: Mark 14:43; Luke 8:49 (2); John 1:6; 8:38; 10:18; Phil 4:18 (2); 2 John 1:3, 4.

22:19; 1 Cor 11:23). This perhaps led to the change here. Both the internal and external evidence support the editorial text.

◆ νυκτος και ημερας {e=i}

Should the genitive, νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, with its focus on the type of time (the time “within which” or “during which” something occurs)<sup>154</sup> be accepted or the accusative, νυκτὰ καὶ ἡμέραν, which would emphasize the “extent of time.”<sup>155</sup> The former might be translated “we worked *during* the day and *at* night” while the latter “we worked *all* day and *all* night.” Obviously, some hyperbole would be involved if the accusative were the original reading; Paul and his companions probably would not have *literally* worked all day and all night.

Both readings have strong manuscript support. The genitive is read by 01 03 010 012 33 81 256 1845 1912 2805 *al* while the accusative is read by 02 06 025 6 203 436 1739 1881 Byz. As for the internal evidence, the genitive is used in a nearly identical passage in 1 Thess 2:9 as well as in 1 Thess 3:10 making it, therefore, more likely to have been a harmonization in this parallel passage in 2 Thess. The only internal evidence in favor of the genitive is that the fact that the accusative would have heightened Paul’s boast. However, this change from genitive to accusative was apparently not made for 1 Thess 2:9 or 3:10 where the manuscript tradition is without variation. The internal evidence, therefore, appears to favor the accusative as the earlier reading.

Nevertheless, the genitive has been preferred by Tischendorf, WH, Zimmer, SBLGNT, NA28. Von Soden, Merk, and Vogels prefer the accusative. The THGNT places a diamond at this variation unit. I find the balance of probabilities even with the internal evidence favoring the accusative but the external evidence nearly even or perhaps slightly favoring the genitive. I have indicated this ambivalence with a ♦ for this variation unit.

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<sup>154</sup> Wallace, *Exegetical Syntax*, 122–124.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*, 201–203.

## 2 Thessalonians 3:11

τινας περιπατουντας εν υμιν ατακτως {e>i}

A substantial amount of variation occurs for this unit with both ἐν ὑμῖν and ἀτάκτως occurring in different positions. However, even though some of the consistently cited witness support some of this variation, none of the alternative readings have enough manuscript support to justify their selection as the editorial text.

## 2 Thessalonians 3:12

εν κυριω Ιησου Χριστω {e>i}

Most editions report two main readings for this variation unit: (1) ἐν κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ read by 01 02 03 06 010 012 (025) 33 81 203 256 436 1739 1845 1881 1912 2805 *al* lat (sy<sup>p</sup> sa bo<sup>ms</sup>) and (2) διὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ read by 6 Byz sy<sup>h</sup>. The first reading has the better external evidence being supported by our earliest and best manuscripts with solid geographical distribution as evidenced by the versions. As for the internal evidence, both phrases occur elsewhere in the Pauline epistles in a context of exhortation (i.e., with either παραγγέλλω or παρακαλέω and with Jesus' name or divine titles): the preposition ἐν occurs in a parallel passage in 1 Thess 4:1 and in the immediate context in 2 Thess 3:4, 6; on the other hand, διὰ occurs in Rom 15:30; 1 Cor 1:10; 1 Thess 4:2 (παραγγελίας). In these contexts, commentators often interpret these prepositional phrases as nearly synonymous to one another—namely, as Paul's means of invoking Jesus' authority to buttress the force of his commands. This overlap in meaning can be clearly seen in 1 Thess 4:1–2, where he uses both phrases in such close proximity. Regarding their use there, Frame states “the presence of both ἐν κυρίῳ (v.1) and διὰ κυρίου is here designed not to emphasize the apostolic authority of the writers but to point the reader to the divine source

of authority which both readers and writers recognize as legitimate, the indwelling Christ.”<sup>156</sup> Frame also notes their use side-by-side in Rom 5:9–11; 2 Cor 1:20; 5:18–19; Col 1:16. In 2 Thess 3:12, either preposition could have been used in the sense in which Frame describes, that is, as a way to heighten the urgency of the apostolic command (i.e., “to do their work quietly and to earn their own living” [ESV]). The synonymy of the two phrases and the fact that both prepositions are legitimately used in this fashion elsewhere by Paul, makes the internal evidence ambivalent. Would a copyist or editor have been more likely to change ἐν to διὰ on the pattern of Rom 15:30, 1 Cor 1:10, and 1 Thess 4:2 or is the opposite change more likely given the presence of ἐν in the immediate context (vv. 4, 6) and 1 Thess 4:1?<sup>157</sup> Due to this ambiguity it is perhaps best to let the external evidence decide the matter, which is why I prefer ἐν κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ following our best and earliest witnesses.

It is worth noting that for this variation unit a previously unknown reading has come to light. Though having no claim for being the earliest reading, twelve manuscripts testify to the reading μεσίτην παραλαμβάνετε τὸν Χριστόν, which to my knowledge was previously unreported. In this context, it could be translated imperatively as “receive Christ as arbiter.” This reading makes explicit what was implied in the others variants: the Thessalonians need to accept Christ as the “ultimate authority” or “arbiter” in the matter of working quietly and providing for themselves. Another salient feature about this variant is that all twelve manuscripts are commentary manuscripts. More specifically, they all come from the lemmata of manuscripts preserving the catena of Theophylact. As one might have suspected, the inspiration for this new reading lies within the comments of Theophylact’s catena itself,

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<sup>156</sup> Frame, *Thessalonians*, 144.

<sup>157</sup> Fee thinks that ἐν is the more difficult reading, though he does not explain why (*Thessalonians*, 332–333, n. 71). Weima disagrees noting that ἐν is “readily understandable in this context” (*Thessalonians*, 629–630). The preposition ἐν does have a wider semantic range than διὰ and, thus, could create more ambiguity as to which meaning was intended (cf. Wallace, *Exegetical Syntax*, 368–369; 372). On the other hand, this ambiguity did not create any alternate readings among the manuscripts in 1 Thess 4:1.

though in this case not from his comments for 2 Thessalonians 3:12 but seemingly from a parallel passage, 1 Thessalonians 4:1-2, where we read the following comments:

(a) 1 Thess 4:1 ὁρα δὲ ταπεινοφροσύνην, ὅπως οὐδὲ πρὸς τὸ παρακαλεῖν ἀξιόπιστον ἑαυτὸν εἶναί φησιν, ἀλλὰ τὸν Χριστὸν παραλαμβάνει, τοῦτο λέγων, ὅτι ὁ Χριστὸς ὑμᾶς παρακαλεῖ δι' ἐμοῦ. (“Observe his humility: how he does not declare himself trustworthy with respect to this exhortation, but refers to Christ, meaning that Christ exhorts you through me”)

(b) 1 Thess 4:2 πάλιν δὲ τὸν Χριστὸν εἰς τὸ μέσον τίθησιν. Οὐκ ἐμὰ γὰρ, φησιν, ἃ παρήγγειλα ἀλλ' ἐκείνου ταῦτα (Again, he brings Christ to the forefront. For, he does not say “mine, what I commanded,” but the things of that one [Christ])<sup>158</sup>

The first quotation above is Theophylact's comments on ἐν κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ in 1 Thess 4:1 while the second is for διὰ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ in 4:2. I have underlined the potential relevant verbal parallels. This variant provides an interesting case study in how textual variants emerge. In this instance, the reading μεσίτην παραλαμβάναντες τὸν Χριστὸν clearly occurs in the lemmata (not the comments) of manuscripts of Theophylact. Yet, its origin appears to lie in a parallel passage, though the verbal parallels are not an exact match. How did this occur? Though untestable, one hypothesis would be that what was originally a scholion or notation inadvertently worked its way into the text.<sup>159</sup> Alternatively, this may have been an emendation intended to heighten the emphasis on Christ's authority. Either way, it offers a glimpse into how this passage was interpreted in the Byzantine period and a preview of the type of discoveries that await those who are willing to investigate the remaining untranscribed New Testament manuscripts.<sup>160</sup>

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<sup>158</sup> The Greek text is taken from PG 124, col. 1305. The translation is mine.

<sup>159</sup> In support of this hypothesis is the fact that παραλαμβάνω can mean “interpret” or “refer to” (Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, s.v. “παραλαμβάνω”). Thus, a marginal note meant to explain ἐν κυρίῳ κτλ. or διὰ τοῦ κυρίου κτλ. could be rendered as “referring to Christ.”

<sup>160</sup> Some of the content for this variation unit was taken (and lightly edited) from a paper I presented at the 2016 annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature (Edwards, “A New Collation,” 7–8).

## 2 Thessalonians 3:13

εγκακησητε {e+i}

The most important majuscules and a handful of minuscules read ἐγκακήσητε (01 02 03 06 61C 1908 1962 co).<sup>161</sup> The rest of the Greek manuscript tradition has ἐκκακήσητε. Similar division occurs among the manuscripts for the other four occurrences of ἐγκακέω in the Pauline corpus. In each instance, the early and better manuscripts support ἐγκακέω: 2 Cor 4:1 (P46 01 02 03 06 010 012); 2 Cor 4:16 (P46 01 03 06 010 012); Gal 6:9 (01 02 03 06); Eph 3:13 (P46 01 02 03 06). Additionally, ἐκκακέω was the more common form in antiquity occurring with much more frequency and, therefore, much more likely to be an emendation.<sup>162</sup> Consequently, both the internal and external evidence support the editorial text.

καλοποιουντες {e+i}

Though the editorial text is not in doubt for this variation unit, several interesting readings occur. A handful of manuscripts (010 012 0150 608 2005 2805) have replaced the less frequent verb καλοποιέω with a combination of its more familiar etymological components, καλός and ποιέω. A few manuscripts (442 506 1910) adopt this reading but also make καλός articular perhaps following Rom 7:21, Gal 6:9, and 2 Cor 13:7. One manuscript (1409) has substituted ἀγαθός for καλός. Reminiscent of the Wicked Bible,<sup>163</sup> three manuscripts (1881 1985 2105) read κακοποιούντες which could be rendered “do not cease in doing mischief.” All of these readings should be considered derivative of the editorial text.

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<sup>161</sup> 06 reads ἐγκακεῖτε.

<sup>162</sup> Using the TLG, I count fourteen occurrences of ἐγκακέω and 182 occurrences of ἐκκακέω.

<sup>163</sup> The “Wicked Bible” is the name given to a 1631 printing of the King James Version which left out the word “not” in the translation of Exodus 20:14 resulting in the command “Thou shall commit adultery.”

## 2 Thessalonians 3:14

ημῶν {e>i}

Twenty-six manuscripts, including Vaticanus, have ὑμῶν instead of ἡμῶν (03 81 *al*). Only a few of these manuscripts are among those consistently cited and twelve are from the commentary of Theophylact. This weak external evidence plus the fact that this reading can easily be explained from itacism makes it less likely to have been the earliest reading.

μη συναναμίγνυσθαι {e+i}

The majority of manuscripts read the imperative μὴ συναναμίγνυσθε (06 025 203 256 436 1739 1845 1881 1912 2805 Byz) instead of the infinitive μὴ συναναμίγνυσθαι (01 02V 03 06 010 012 33 81 *pc*).<sup>164</sup> Confusion between the endings -αι and -ε is common among the manuscripts. Indeed, their interchange occurs so frequently that Findlay states that “the spelling of such verb-forms is no index to their grammatical meaning.”<sup>165</sup> Complicating the matter further is the fact that most manuscripts also add a καί before this variation unit connecting it with the imperative σημειοῦσθε. Though καί and σημειοῦσθε comprise a separate variation unit in my critical apparatus, I have included a discussion of them both here since these variation units are related. Taken together, two likely possibilities emerge: (1) σημειοῦσθε μὴ συναναμίγνυσθαι without καί read by 01 02 03 044 33 and (2) σημειοῦσθε καὶ μὴ συναναμίγνυσθε read by 06 025 203 256 436 1845 1912 2805 Byz.<sup>166</sup> Most commentators believe that the καί plus the imperative, which is read by the majority of manuscripts, was an attempt “to relieve the asyndeton” created by the bare infinitive.<sup>167</sup>

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<sup>164</sup> GA 6 drops the μή.

<sup>165</sup> Findlay, *Thessalonians*, 197.

<sup>166</sup> Several manuscripts (including 81) have the seemingly unbalanced and grammatically nonsensical σημειοῦσθε καὶ μὴ συναναμίγνυσθαι (imperative and infinitive connected with καί). Note the comment of Findlay: “the confusion of -ε and -αι is the commonest of itacisms . . .; the spelling of such verb-forms is no index to their grammatical meaning” (*Thessalonians*, 197).

Based on this assumption, Lightfoot, for instance, lays out the development of the readings in the following manner: “The order of the variants would then be (1) σημειοῦσθε μὴ συναναμίγνυσθαι, (2) σημειοῦσθε μὴ συναναμίγνυσθε, the ordinary error between ε and αι, (3) σημειοῦσθε καὶ μὴ συναναμίγνυσθε, the καὶ being added in order to obviate the abruptness.”<sup>167</sup> Against most modern editions and commentators, von Soden prefers the majority reading. Following 1739 and 1881, Tischendorf reads the imperative without the καὶ and puts an intermediate stop or raised dot after σημειοῦσθε. In this view, the καὶ was still an emendation intended to relieve the “abruptness,” but for two side-by-side imperatives. One might argue that the manuscript evidence is too insubstantial for this reading, but if Findlay is right about the fluidity between -αι and -ε, then one might also argue that σημειοῦσθε μὴ συναναμίγνυσθαι could be interpreted as indirect testimony for Tischendorf’s preferred reading. Nevertheless, an imperative plus a raised dot plus another imperative (without or without μὴ) does not occur elsewhere in the New Testament. So, while Tischendorf’s reading may be difficult, it is perhaps less likely on intrinsic grounds.

I find the textual development that Lightfoot proposes most compelling. The infinitive without καὶ is the more difficult reading and has the support of the best majuscules. Finally, a powerful explanation for the omission of the καὶ is wanting had it been original.

## 2 Thessalonians 3:15

και μη {e+i}

Some notable manuscripts omit καὶ for this variation unit (06 6 1739 1881). Two of these manuscripts (1739 1881) also omitted a καὶ in 3:14. As a result of that omission, these two manuscripts read three imperatives in a row without intervening conjunctions (σημειοῦσθε ...συναναμίγνυσθε...ἡγείσθε). The best explanation for the origin of this

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<sup>167</sup> Frame, *Thessalonians*, 309 (cf. Weima, *Thessalonians*, 630).

<sup>168</sup> Lightfoot, *Notes*, 2 Thess 3:14.



reading is to assume the editorial text was the earliest and that itacism led to the infinitive (συναναμίγνυσθαι) being read as an imperative (συναναμίγνυσθε); then καί was added between the two imperatives to relieve the asyndeton; then the καί in 3:15 was dropped to create symmetry for all three imperatives. In addition, the overwhelming manuscript evidence for καὶ μή also makes it preferable.

ἡγεῖσθε {e+i}

Again, we have the problem of an -ε versus -αι reading. Most and the earliest manuscripts read the imperative ἡγεῖσθε while the so-called “Western” majuscules and ten other manuscripts seemingly<sup>169</sup> read the infinitive ἡγεῖσθαι (06 010 012 81 *pc*). This change could be attributed to a desire of conformity with συναναμίγνυσθαι from 3:14 (eight of the thirteen manuscripts with ἡγεῖσθαι also have συναναμίγνυσθαι in 3:14). Reading the infinitive here appears grammatically impossible given that it is in coordination with the imperative νοουθετεῖτε in this same verse. Given this grammatical awkwardness, the fluidity between -ε and -αι endings,<sup>170</sup> and the overwhelming external evidence for ἡγεῖσθε, the imperative should be accepted here as well.

## 2 Thessalonians 3:16

κύριος {e+i}

Despite forty-five manuscripts (010 012 1912 2805 *al*) reading θεός instead of κύριος, NA28 curiously leaves out this variation unit. The implication we may draw from this absence is that θεός does not have a strong case for being the earliest reading, which is indeed correct: “God of peace” is found four times in the Pauline epistles (Rom 15:23; 16:20; Phil 4:9; 1 Thess 5:23), while “Lord of peace” occurs only here. Thus, both the internal and

<sup>169</sup> Cf. Findlay’s comments above in 3:14 regarding the confusion and fluidity between these endings.

<sup>170</sup> Indeed, a few manuscripts (01 0278 629) even change the -ε ending of νοουθετεῖτε to -αι.

external evidence support κύριος. Nevertheless, a sizeable number of manuscripts read θεός meriting, I think, the inclusion of this unit even in a hand edition like NA28.

την {e+i}

Most likely due to homoeoteleuton (with the preceding ὑμῖν), a few important manuscripts omit τήν (02 6 61 1739 1881 2138). This transcriptional likelihood and external support of the τήν make its inclusion probable.

δια παντος εν παντι τροπω {e+i}

The so-called “Western” majuscules and a few other manuscripts (02 06 010 012 33V 2105 2544 latt) have τόπω (“place”) instead of τρόπω (“manner”). The former occurs in the Pauline epistles with the preposition ἐν in 1 Cor 1:2; 2 Cor 2:14; 1 Thess 1:8; 1 Tim 2:8, while the latter never occurs with this preposition.<sup>171</sup> This observation plus its strong manuscript support make τρόπω the preferred reading.

## 2 Thessalonians 3:18

υμων {e+i}

As with many of the Pauline epistles, several of the earliest and best manuscripts (01 03 6 33 1739 1881 *pc vg<sup>mss</sup> sa bo<sup>mss</sup>*) lack ἀμήν at the end of the epistle against the majority of witnesses (02 06 010 012 025 81 203 256 436 1845 1912 2805 Byz lat sy bo). Metzger calls this the “liturgical ἀμήν” and offers decisive internal reasoning against its inclusion: “If the word were present originally . . . it is impossible to account for its deletion from such early and varied witnesses.”<sup>172</sup>

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<sup>171</sup> For occurrences of τρόπος in Paul see Rom 3:2 (κατὰ πάντα τρόπον); Phil 1:18 (παντὶ τρόπῳ); 2 Thess 2:3; 2 Tim 3:8.

<sup>172</sup> These are actually Metzger’s comments for Col 4:18 but, in my opinion, they are equally applicable here (*Textual Commentary*, 560).

## Subscription

Although the earliest text did not have a subscription, the reading *πρὸς Θεσσαλονικεῖς β* should be regarded as the earliest subscription given its support by some of the best and earliest manuscripts (01 03 044 33) and its simplicity. As for the additional elements, the bulk of the manuscripts include a provenance modifier adding either *ἀπὸ Ἀθηνῶν* or *ἀπὸ Ῥώμης*. Some manuscripts include a genre modifier (*ἐπιστολή*) while others add a terminal modifier (*τέλος*). Authorship modifiers also occur in several manuscripts (020 104 330 451 1398 2102 2805), most of which attribute the authorship to Paul alone while two manuscripts (81 459) mention Paul, Timothy, and Silas. Two manuscripts (020 104) also include a referential modifier (*τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου*). I also count 21 singular readings. The Byzantine manuscripts are divided, with two omitting the subscription (1354 1609), one with *ἔγγραφη ἀπὸ Ῥώμης* (35; also 6), one with *πρὸς Θεσσαλονικεῖς β ἔγγραφη ἀπὸ Ἀθηνῶν* (517; also 02 025 256), and one with *ἡ πρὸς Θεσσαλονικεῖς β ἔγγραφη ἀπὸ Ῥώμης* (999). Among my consistently cited manuscripts not already mentioned, I note the following readings: *πρὸς Θεσσαλονικεῖς β ἐπληρώθη* (06), *ἐτελέσθη πρὸς Θεσσαλονι β* (010 012); *ἔγγραφη ἀπὸ Ἀθηνῶν* (436); *πρὸς Θεσσαλονικεῖς β ἔγγραφη ἀπὸ Ῥώμης* (1845 1912); *τέλος τῆς ἐπιστολῆς πρὸς Θεσσαλονικεῖς β ἔγγραφη ἀπὸ Ἀθηνῶν* (1739).<sup>173</sup> Fifty-seven manuscripts omit the subscription (including 1881).

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<sup>173</sup> GA 203 reads *τέλος τῆς πρὸς Θεσσαλονικεῖς β ἐπιστολῆς ἔγγραφη ἀπ[3-4]*. The missing three to four letters would surely have been an abbreviated form of either *Ῥώμης* or *Ἀθηνῶν*.

## CHAPTER 4

### A TEXTUAL HISTORY OF 2 THESSALONIANS

In this chapter I examine the textual history of the Greek manuscript tradition of 2 Thessalonians. In other words, what can be discerned about the transmission of the epistle across time based on the genealogical data available for the manuscripts? And what are the most discernable genetic relationships among the manuscripts? To answer these questions, I have used three sources of genealogical data,<sup>1</sup> namely, pregenealogical coherence, Byzantine coherence, and agreements in variation. Each of these provides a different perspective on the amount and type of agreement between the manuscripts. Pregenealogical coherence measures the amount of agreement between two manuscripts across all variation units where at least one variant reading is attested by at least one manuscript.<sup>2</sup> In other words, if a unit is invariant across all manuscripts it is excluded. For my collation of 2 Thessalonians, there are 611 units with variation for the 137 manuscripts included herein, though the number of units compared for two manuscripts can vary based on lacunae and other factors.<sup>3</sup> Select results of this analysis can be viewed in Appendix 3 (“Select Genealogical Data”), where I have included the most relevant genealogical data for each manuscript. Below, I have provided

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<sup>1</sup> For a history of the different approaches to attempting to quantify genealogical relationships between New Testament manuscripts see Thomas C. Geer, Jr. and Jean-François Racine, “Analyzing and Categorizing New Testament Greek Manuscripts,” in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research* (ed. Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes; NTTSD 42; 2d. ed.; Leiden: Brill, 2013), 497–518. Some of the seminal works in the field include E. C. Colwell with E. W. Tune, “Method in Establishing Quantitative Relationship between Text-Types of New Testament Manuscripts,” in *Studies in Methodology in Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (ed. E. C. Colwell; Leiden: Brill, 1969), 56–62; Fredrick Wisse, *The Profile Method for the Classification and Evaluation of Manuscript Evidence, as Applied to the Continuous Greek Text of the Gospel of Luke* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982); Bart Ehrman, “Methodological Developments in the Analysis and Classification of the New Testament Documentary Evidence,” *NovT* 29 (1987): 22–45; idem., “The Use of Group Profiles for the Classification of New Testament Documentary Evidence,” *JBL* 106 (1987): 465–486; D. C. Parker, “A Comparison between the *Text und Textwert* and the Claremont Profile Method: Analyses of Manuscripts in the Gospel of Luke,” *NTS* 49 (2003): 108–138.

<sup>2</sup> I am using pregenealogical coherence in the way it is typically employed for the CBGM. For a helpful and accessible overview of pregenealogical coherence see Tommy Wasserman and Peter J. Gurry, *A New Approach to Textual Criticism: An Introduction to the Coherence-Based Genealogical Method* (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2017), 37–58.

<sup>3</sup> Where manuscripts are lacunose, those variation units are excluded from the analysis for the manuscripts in question.

summary statistics for pregenealogical coherence across all the manuscripts comparisons<sup>4</sup> to give the reader a sense of these data.

### *Summary Statistics for Pregenealogical Coherence*

Average MS Agreement: 93.40%  
Max MS Agreement: 99.84% (GA 35 | 1101)  
Min MS Agreement: 83.70% (GA 010 | 38)  
Standard Deviation: 2.49%

The second source of genealogical data, I call *Byzantine coherence*. Byzantine coherence measures the amount of agreement of each manuscript across the 32 distinct Byzantine readings that *diverge* from the editorial text.<sup>5</sup> For this thesis, the Byzantine text is defined as the text attested by the majority of the five “pure” Byzantine manuscripts selected for inclusion in my critical apparatus, namely, 35, 517, 999, 1354, and 1609.<sup>6</sup> For all but three variation units, the Byzantine text is also attested by the majority of manuscripts in my thesis.<sup>7</sup> I have also included the six variation units that have been marked with a ♦ in the critical apparatus, for which the Byzantine text may or may not also be the earliest attainable text. The full results of these data can be viewed in Appendix 2 (“Byzantine Coherence”).

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<sup>4</sup> Unless otherwise noted, I have excluded commentary manuscripts and manuscripts with significant lacunae and omissions from these calculations. Many commentary manuscripts have a distinct history with distinct readings and, therefore, merit a separate analysis. See my comments on commentary manuscript in the Excursus later in this chapter. In terms of lacunose manuscripts, I have excluded any manuscript which is lacunose in more than 55 units with the editorial text. As for omissions, I have excluded manuscripts which *both*, at times, skip multiple verses *and* have an agreement with the editorial text which is less than 84%. Manuscripts with significant lacunae or omissions include P30, P92, 016, 0111, 218, 1729, 1838, 1890, 1910, 1942, 2005, 2138, 2558, 2625, 2736, 2772.

<sup>5</sup> I am reminded of Lanier’s definition of the Byzantine Text: “The Byzantine tradition is the distinctive pattern of readings attested in the vast majority of post-ninth century minuscules ... and a handful of late majuscules” (Gregory R. Lanier, “Taking Inventory on the ‘Age of Minuscules’: Later Byzantine Manuscripts and the Byzantine Tradition within the Field of Textual Criticism,” *CurBS* 16 [2018], 272). See also the definition adopted by the ECM: “The term *Byzantine* or *Koine* text refers to the form of text defined by those readings which are attested by the majority of the manuscripts *and* differ from the established text” (*Novum Testamentum Graecum: Editio Critica Maior. IV. Die Katholischen Briefe* [eds., Barbara Aland et al.; 2d. Rev. ed.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2013], 12).

<sup>6</sup> For a description of how these manuscripts were chosen see Chapter 1, “Introduction,” 8 n. 27.

<sup>7</sup> These variation units are 2 Thess 2:2; 8; 17. I suspect that with the possible exception of 2 Thess 2:2, if all extant manuscripts for 2 Thessalonians were collated, the majority of manuscripts would in fact agree with the Byzantine text as defined in this thesis. This is not the case for my thesis probably due to the fact that I have specifically targeted non-Byzantine manuscripts for inclusion.

One might argue that Byzantine coherence offers the purest analysis of whether a manuscript is Byzantine or not since it *only* includes passages that are *distinctively* Byzantine (so-called agreement in error) and does not count divergences from units where the Byzantine text and editorial text agree—i.e., variations which are likely to be singular or which reveal other, non-Byzantine or sub-Byzantine groupings. Again, to give the reader a sense of these data I provide summary statistics below.

#### ***Summary Statistics for Byzantine Coherence***

Average Byzantine Coherence: 72%  
Max Byzantine Coherence: 100% (GA 35)  
Min Byzantine Coherence: 13% (GA 01, 03)  
Standard Deviation: 18%

The final source of genealogical data, I call *agreements in variation*. Agreements in variation counts the number of times two manuscripts agree when agreements with the Byzantine text (as I have defined it) *and* the editorial text are excluded. In other words, it counts the non-Byzantine and non-editorial text agreements (non-Byzantine agreements in error). These data complement Byzantine coherence and are intended to help identify and to make more explicit non-Byzantine or sub-Byzantine groupings. I provide summary statistics below:

#### ***Summary Statistics for Agreements in Variation***

Average # of Agreements: 1.05  
Max # of Agreements: 40 (GA 010 | 012)  
Min # of Agreements: 0  
Standard Deviation: 1.83

### **Limitations, Preview, and Method**

Excluded from this thesis is the use of the Coherence-Based Genealogical Method (CBGM), the method developed at the Institut für Neutestamentliche Textforschung (INTF) and which is being used by the editors of the *Editio Critica Maior* (ECM).<sup>8</sup> Though I had

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<sup>8</sup> For more on the ECM see Chapter 1, “Introduction,” 3–4.

originally intended to apply the CBGM to the data of 2 Thessalonians, access to the software was not readily available at the appropriate stage of this thesis to incorporate it efficiently. As a result, genealogical data has only been used herein to describe the overall structure of the genetic relationships between the manuscripts and has not been used to help make textual decisions for the editorial text as described in the commentary.<sup>9</sup> This is a limitation but perhaps provides an opportunity for the results of this thesis to be compared with the results of the forthcoming ECM volume of 2 Thessalonians. How far can traditional text-critical methods take us and what is gained by the application of the CBGM? A comparison of these two approaches should help provide some answers.

Another limitation of my textual history is the absence of any in-depth use of the versions or the Church Fathers. Though these data are incredibly important, this chapter will focus exclusively on the Greek manuscript tradition. An unfortunate limitation is perhaps the fact that the leaves of P46 which mostly likely would have contained 2 Thessalonians are lost.<sup>10</sup> P46 is likely from the third century and would have provided a window into an earlier period of the transmission of 2 Thessalonians. There are also some limitations of pregenealogical coherence and my agreements in variation which are worth mentioning. Pregenealogical coherence is sensitive to singular readings. Hypothetically, two manuscripts could be closely related genetically but, if both have a high number of singular readings, this relationship could be obscured. Also, my agreements in variation figure counts all agreements equally. Whether two manuscripts share an agreement that is highly peculiar or merely routine, each is counted as a single agreement. Pregenealogical coherence and agreements in variation are

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<sup>9</sup> I am reminded of Klaus Wachtel's remark that "grouping manuscripts according to rates of agreement and disagreement remains a valuable tool for detecting the structure of the transmission. But grouping as such is of little moment. It should be used to explain changes rather than agreement" (Klaus Wachtel, "Colwell Revisited: Grouping New Testament Manuscripts," in *The New Testament Text in Early Christianity* [ed. C. -B. Amphoux and J. K. Elliott; Lausanne: Zèbre, 2003], 42).

<sup>10</sup> For a summary of the discussion of P46's lost leaves see E. B. Ebojo, "A Scribe and His Manuscript: An Investigation into the Scribal Habits of Papyrus 46" (Ph.D. Diss., University of Birmingham, 2014), 204–235.

valuable ways of examining relationships between manuscripts; nevertheless, readers should be aware of their limitations.

This chapter will begin by looking at previous textual histories of the Pauline Epistles. Next, I will discuss the Byzantine text, specifically. This will be followed by an examination of closely related manuscripts or groups of manuscripts. Before summarizing the chapter's findings, I have also included an excursus that assesses the *Teststellen* method as it relates to 2 Thessalonians. As for my method, I typically begin each section by noting the most relevant secondary literature for the topic in question; I then report the genealogical data for 2 Thessalonians pertinent to the topic with discussion included of how the data at hand relate to the topic.

### **Previous Textual Histories of the Pauline Epistles**

In this section I will summarize three of the most relevant approaches to the textual history of the Pauline Epistles. Specifically, I will discuss the genealogical results of Günther Zuntz's *The Text of the Epistles*, Stephen Carlson's *The Text of Galatians and Its History*, and Matthew Solomon's recent PhD dissertation, "The Textual History of Philemon."<sup>11</sup> After summarizing the genealogical results of each of these works, I will then compare and contrast their findings with the data from 2 Thessalonians. These previous approaches will thus provide a point of departure to discuss the textual history of 2 Thessalonians.

#### **Zuntz: The Text of the Epistles**

In 1946, Günther Zuntz delivered the Schweich Lectures for the British Academy. His remarks were published in 1953 under the title, *The Text of the Epistles: A Disquisition upon the Corpus Paulinum*. The primary task Zuntz set for himself was an investigation of P46 in 1 Corinthians and Hebrews and an analysis of its relationship to other manuscript groupings.

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<sup>11</sup> Günther Zuntz, *The Text of the Epistles: A Disquisition upon the Corpus Paulinum* (The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy, 1946; London: Oxford University Press, 1953); Stephen C. Carlson, *The Text of Galatians and Its History* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015); S. Matthew Solomon, "The Textual History of Philemon" (Ph.D. diss., New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary, 2014).



The result, however, was a *tour de force* with Zuntz, en route, elaborating on details of textual history and text-critical method, and offering exemplary and, at times, innovative approaches to text-critical problems in 1 Corinthians and Hebrews. Indeed, of this work, David Parker has remarked “*The Text of the Epistles* is certainly a classic work of text-critical analysis, and along with Westcott and Hort’s Introduction is one of the texts which should be read and studied by everyone who wishes to understand such research or to undertake it.”<sup>12</sup> In what follows, I summarize Zuntz’s most relevant genealogical findings.

Zuntz posited that there were two main streams of transmission for the text of the Epistles—an Eastern branch and a Western branch. An early grouping of the Eastern branch is represented by P46, B 1739, Clement, Origen, plus the Sahidic and Bohairic versions of the Coptic text.<sup>13</sup> He labeled this group “proto-Alexandrian.” Zuntz also occasionally referred to “later Alexandrians,” which appear to include 01, 02, 04, and 33.<sup>14</sup> As for the Byzantine Text, it developed out of this Eastern branch.<sup>15</sup> Although he thought it to be the “latest text” and that it contained “the largest proportion of corruptions,”<sup>16</sup> Zuntz also argued for the antiquity of Byzantine readings and rejected the notion that the Byzantine text could be discarded *en bloc*.<sup>17</sup> As for the Western branch, Zuntz thought it was represented by (1) the

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<sup>12</sup> D. C. Parker, *An Introduction to the New Testament Manuscripts and Their Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 280. Note also Michael W. Holmes’ remark that “[Zuntz’s] work on the text of the Pauline Letters is one of the best extended examples of a genuinely balanced reasoned eclectic approach to textual criticism and ought to be seen as paradigmatic for the discipline in at least three respects: in terms of practice, theory, and the history of transmission, especially as it relates to the particulars of the text” (“Reasoned Eclecticism in New Testament Textual Criticism,” *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research* [ed. Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes; NTTSD 42; 2d. ed.; Leiden: Brill, 2013], 774–775).

<sup>13</sup> Zuntz, *The Text of the Epistles*, 156, 265. I note that Georg Gäbel’s recent study concludes that 1739 is not as closely related to P46 and 03 as Zuntz posited (cf. Georg Gäbel, “The Text of Hebrews in GA 1739, in Selected Other Greek Manuscripts, and in Works of Origen: Preliminary Quantitative Assessments,” in *The New Testament in Antiquity and Byzantium. Traditional and Digital Approaches to its Texts and Editing. A Festschrift for Klaus Wachtel* [ed. H. A. G. Houghton, D. C. Parker, and H. Strutwolf; ANTF 52; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2019], 147–163).

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, 241.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 265.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 56. See also his comments at 283.

common ancestor of D, F, and G; (2) Tertullian and; (3) the Old Latin version.<sup>18</sup> The Western branch has roots in the second century and “alone sometimes, but very rarely, preserve[s] the original wording.”<sup>19</sup>

Zuntz also made specific conclusions regarding the importance of combinations of external support and their significance for determining the “original wording.” I reproduce these conclusions below from the end of his chapter entitled, “The Main Groups of the Evidence in Their Relation to P46”:

1. The evidence of late witnesses becomes important whenever it is anticipated by P46, B, or some Western witnesses.
2. The ‘Alexandrian’ family as a whole, from P46 onwards, stands a good chance of being right against all other witnesses.
3. The Western witnesses alone sometimes, but very rarely, preserve the original wording.
4. Western witnesses joined by P46 or B or 1739 are more often right than wrong; they are hardly ever wrong when joined by the whole ‘proto-Alexandrian’ group.
5. The (rare) combination of other ‘Alexandrians’ (against P46 &c.) with W<sup>20</sup> is right only in 1 Cor. viii. 8.
6. P46 alone with one Western witness can be right against the whole of the other tradition.<sup>21</sup>

Although *The Text of the Epistles* offers many other interesting findings, those I have summarized above are the most relevant for this chapter. They raise several important questions for 2 Thessalonians. Are 03 and 1739 closely related and do they represent an early grouping in the history of 2 Thessalonians? Do 06, 010, and 012 show as close a relationship as in 1 Corinthians and Hebrews? Are there groupings of manuscripts that are more likely to

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<sup>17</sup> I am paraphrasing Zuntz here: “They [Byzantine editors] tended to adopt the smoothest among competing readings and that, as a rule, meant the spurious ones. Even so, we are now warned not to discard the Byzantine evidence *en bloc*” (ibid., 56).

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 85, 267.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 158.

<sup>20</sup> For Zuntz, “W” readings are those “readings which are known exclusively from the Western parts of the Roman Empire” (ibid., 85).

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 158–159.

attest the earliest text and do they align with Zuntz's groupings? I will address these questions after summarizing the findings of Carlson and Solomon.

### **Carlson: The Text of Galatians and Its History**

Zuntz came to his conclusions without the aid of computers. Indeed, his approach was one of traditional philology. He typically does not offer quantitative data for his genealogical claims though he does refer the reader to several helpful tables throughout the book where he has compiled data. Stephen Carlson's recent textual history of Galatians, on the other hand, makes full use of computer software. Carlson applies a software program, based on cladistics, to 92 witnesses from Galatians. Cladistics is a method of evolutionary biology developed to help classify the relationships between organisms.<sup>22</sup>

Based on the results of applying this cladistic software, Carlson, like Zuntz, also found that the textual tradition divided into two main branches, which he also labeled Eastern and Western, though he has been careful to use scare quotes when using these terms. His Eastern branch, also like Zuntz's, developed over time eventually evolving into the Byzantine text,<sup>23</sup> with its prime representatives at its latest stage being 018, 020, 226, 547, and 1854.<sup>24</sup> The earliest "stratum" for the Eastern branch is represented by 01 and 33. After this grouping, the Eastern branch has two main sub-branches, one which consists of 02, 04, 025, and 1241S, and another broadly represented by family 1739, 044, the Greek Harklean witnesses (namely 1505, 1611, and 2495), and the aforementioned late Byzantine group—each of these sets of witnesses represent different stages of this sub-branch. Carlson's Western branch includes

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<sup>22</sup> For an overview of Cladistics, see Carlson, *The Text of Galatians and Its History*, 54–74. For a general overview of the use of phylogenetics in the humanities see Andrew Edmondson, "An Analysis of the Coherence-Based Genealogical Method Using Phylogenetics" (Ph.D. diss., University of Birmingham, 2019), 165–199.

<sup>23</sup> Carlson, *The Text of Galatians and Its History*, 242.

<sup>24</sup> For Carlson's descriptions of his groups, as detailed in this paragraph, see *ibid.*, 80–90; 182–184; 210; 241–250.

“D, F, G, and the Old Latin witnesses b and d.”<sup>25</sup> Of this branch, Carlson notes that it is “the most divergent in the transmission of Galatians, with more harmonizations and theologically significant variation.”<sup>26</sup> Finally, an ancient grouping, the closest to Carlson’s archetype, is that of P46 and B. This grouping “is generally strict, and its most common errors are omissions of little words and harmonizations to the local context;” its closest relative is the Western branch.<sup>27</sup>

Unlike Zuntz, absent from Carlson’s analysis is an “Alexandrian” text. He states “the reason for this omission is that the Alexandrian text—as usually conceived with P46, B,  $\aleph$ , A, C, 33, and 1739—is not a stemmatically coherent text. . . . They do not share a common ancestor below the archetype.”<sup>28</sup> Also against Zuntz’s findings is Carlson’s grouping and estimation of 1739: for Carlson, 1739 is not closely related to P46-B and, therefore, not as close to his archetype.<sup>29</sup> Carlson’s and Zuntz’s findings, however, do have some overlap: in both, the tradition separates into two main branches, the Byzantine text is viewed as a late development of the Eastern branch, and the importance of the Western branch is elevated when it is combined with P46 and 03.<sup>30</sup>

### **Solomon, *The Textual History of Philemon***

The final work I examine is that of Matthew Solomon and his analysis of Philemon. For his PhD dissertation, Solomon transcribed all known Greek continuous-text witnesses for Philemon. In his penultimate chapter of the dissertation, “Textual History,” he applied

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 241.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 242.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, 243.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, 246–247.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, 250.

quantitative analysis to the “major witnesses”<sup>31</sup> of Philemon across 30 variation units. To be considered closely related, manuscripts must agree “at a rate of more than 70 percent and differ from other MSS by more than 10 percent.”<sup>32</sup> Using this threshold, Solomon then looked at manuscripts which have been categorized under the traditional labels of “Alexandrian,” “Western,” and “Byzantine.” This analysis revealed that manuscripts traditionally grouped as “Alexandrian”—that is, 01, 02, 04, 048, 33, and 81—do indeed form a tight group based on his definitions.<sup>33</sup> The traditional “Western” group of 06, 010, and 012 does not fare as well.<sup>34</sup> Although, 010 and 012 share 92.31 percent agreement, 06 agrees with these manuscripts only 50 and 57.69 percent of the time, respectively, perhaps defying the traditional assumption that these three manuscripts are closely related. Solomon also noted that these “Western” manuscripts (and especially 012) should be regarded highly for the text of Philemon.

Manuscripts traditionally labeled as Byzantine group together “very tightly.”<sup>35</sup> These manuscripts included 044, 075, 0150, 35, 69, 322, 323, 630, 1241, 1319, 1424, 1573, 1611, 1841, and 1874. There are also manuscripts of “mixed quality,” namely, 025, 0278, 256, 365, 442, 1505, 1874, 2138.<sup>36</sup> Among these Byzantine and mixed manuscripts, Solomon also notes that 1505, 1611, and 2138 form a tight group. As for 1739, it does not share a close relationship with the traditional Alexandrian group, leading Solomon to conclude that “for

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<sup>31</sup> Namely, 01, 02, 04, 06, 010, 012, 025, 044, 048, 075, 0150, 0278, 33, 35, 69, 81, 104, 256, 322, 323, 365, 442, 629, 630, 1241, 1319, 1424, 1505, 1573, 1611, 1739, 1841, 1881, 2138.

<sup>32</sup> Solomon, “Textual History,” 567. In this regard, he is following Colwell (“Method in Establishing Quantitative Relationships,” 59).

<sup>33</sup> Solomon, “Textual History,” 570–571.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 571–572.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 572–573.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 573–575.

Philemon 1739 should not be as highly regarded for making decisions on variant readings as the other letters of Paul.”<sup>37</sup>

Solomon’s analysis has some overlap but also some divergence from Zuntz and Carlson. Across all three studies, 01, 02, 04, 33 form an early group with a relatively reliable text. Zuntz and Carlson also recognize the closeness of the traditional “Western” group (i.e., 06, 010, and 012), while, in Solomon’s Quantitative Analysis, 06 is less closely related to the other two “Western” manuscripts. All three studies also discuss 1739. Zuntz views the “Athos manuscript” as closely related to P46-03 while Carlson’s analysis places it at a distance from the P46-03 group but as having a common ancestor with 044, on the one hand, and 02, 04, 025, and 1241S, on the other. For Solomon and against Carlson, 1739 is not that closely related to 02 and 04; against Zuntz, Solomon concludes that 1739 “does not seem to be an excellent witness.”<sup>38</sup> Of course, P46 and 03 lack Philemon so it is impossible to know how closely 1739 would have been related to these two important witnesses had they been extant for Philemon. Finally, in both Carlson’s and Solomon’s analysis, the Greek Harklean manuscripts group closely together. For Carlson, these manuscripts include 1505, 1611, and 2495; for Solomon, 1505, 1611, 2138.

### **Previous Textual Histories and 2 Thessalonians**

In this section I shall compare the genealogical results of 2 Thessalonians with those of Zuntz, Carlson, and Solomon. I will reserve the majority of my comments regarding the Byzantine text to the subsequent section dedicated to it.

### **Overview of the Data**

I begin by providing some summary statistics related to pregenealogical coherence and agreement in variation to help orient the reader. Unless otherwise indicated, I exclude

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 576.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 579.

commentary manuscripts and manuscripts with significant lacunae or omissions from my calculations.<sup>39</sup>

**Table 4.1: Summary Statistics for Pregenealogical Coherence**

Manuscript	Mean	Max	75th	25th	Min	Standard Deviation
All Manuscripts	93.40	99.84	95.09	91.86	83.70	2.49
Editorial Text	94.07	97.22	95.06	93.34	89.70	1.54
03	92.77	94.93	93.78	92.24	88.46	1.39
010	87.82	97.99	88.46	87.04	83.70	1.67
35	95.89	99.84	97.71	94.26	89.13	2.28
1739	92.44	97.38	93.42	91.33	87.96	1.57

The table above provides columns for the mean, maximum agreement, seventy-fifth percentile, twenty-fifth percentile, minimum agreement, and standard deviation. The first thing to note is that the textual history of 2 Thessalonians appears to have been very stable. The average agreement across all manuscripts<sup>40</sup> is 93% while the average agreement of manuscripts with the editorial text is 94%. For this latter metric, 2 Thessalonians surpasses both the Catholic Epistles and Acts, for which the average agreement of the manuscripts with the *Ausgangstext* is 89%.<sup>41</sup> These data may provide some quantitative justification for Zuntz's remark that "Of all parts of the New Testament the tradition of the Epistles is the least complicated and most pure."<sup>42</sup> It is also worth noting that these agreement percentages only reflect agreement across *variation* units; units without variation are excluded from the calculations so the actual agreement across all units is in fact higher.

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<sup>39</sup> For my reasoning and criteria for exclusion see n. 4 above. There are 45 commentary manuscripts excluded and 16 manuscripts with significant lacunae or omissions excluded, leaving 76 manuscripts included in the analysis. These manuscripts are 01, 02, 03, 06, 010, 012, 020, 025, 044, 0278, 6, 33, 35, 38, 61, 81, 88, 90, 104, 131, 142, 203, 256, 263, 330, 365, 384, 425, 436, 451, 459, 506, 517, 582, 620, 629, 630, 915, 941, 999, 1101, 1115, 1127, 1241, 1311, 1352, 1354, 1390, 1398, 1409, 1448, 1456, 1573, 1609, 1661, 1739, 1751, 1830, 1845, 1867, 1881, 1899, 1912, 1918, 2003, 2004, 2127, 2298, 2400, 2464, 2492, 2516, 2523, 2544, 2674, 2805.

<sup>40</sup> By "all manuscripts," I mean all of the pregenealogical comparisons for the manuscripts included. That is, the averages of 76 manuscripts compared with one another.

<sup>41</sup> See the online genealogical queries made available by the INTF. Online: <http://egora.uni-muenster.de/intf>.

<sup>42</sup> Zuntz, *The Text of the Epistles*, 263.

The data in Table 4.1 also provide a sense of what is *relatively* high, average, and low agreement for 2 Thessalonians. Based on these data, I would like to propose the following *broad* guidelines for interpreting pregenealogical coherence for 2 Thessalonians:<sup>43</sup>

x < 92%	moderate low to low agreement
x = 92–95%	average agreement
x > 95%	moderate high to high agreement

With these ranges in mind, I present Table 4.2 below, which shows the amount of agreement between some well-known manuscripts.

**Table 4.2: Pregenealogical Coherence for Select MSS**

	01	02	03	06	010	012	35	1101	1739	1881
01	100									
02	94.58	100								
03	94.27	94.25	100							
06	90.51	91.13	92.47	100						
010	87.96	89.09	88.46	88.13	100					
012	89.32	89.78	89.65	88.98	97.99	100				
35	92.80	93.92	93.94	91.65	89.13	90.32	100			
1101	92.96	94.09	93.78	91.82	89.30	90.48	99.84	100		
1739	93.13	93.27	94.93	91.33	87.96	89.32	94.27	94.11	100	
1881	91.00	92.61	93.45	89.85	86.96	88.15	93.29	93.12	97.38	100

In the table above, manuscripts often closely associated with one another show agreement greater than 97%. These include 010 and 012 (97.99%), 35 and 1101 (99.84%),<sup>44</sup> and 1739 and 1881 (97.38%). On the other hand, the so-called “Western” manuscripts, which are typically thought to be at some distance genealogically from the rest of the tradition, show less than 92% with every other manuscript (with only one exception).<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> These guidelines agree broadly with Wachtel’s recommendation in a recent presentation that the agreement rate between the editorial text and the majority text can serve “as a parameter for distinguishing relatively high from relatively low agreement rates” (Klaus Wachtel, “The Byzantine Text: The Last Text-Type Standing? The Text-Type Model in Light of Pre-Genealogical Coherence” [paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, San Diego, 2019]; the quote comes from the handout that accompanied the presentation). For 2 Thessalonians, the agreement rate between the editorial text and majority text is 95.09%

<sup>44</sup> 35 and 1101 have the highest agreement of any two manuscripts in the dataset. They are both highly Byzantine manuscripts. Although 1101 is not a “familiar” manuscript, I have included it to illustrate how closely some Byzantine manuscripts agree.

<sup>45</sup> Namely, 06 has 92.47% agreement with 03, which is still near my lower threshold.



Next, I will provide some baseline statistics for agreements in variation. As a reminder, agreements in variation is the number of times two manuscripts agree when the reading in question is neither Byzantine nor the editorial text. These counts represent so-called agreements in error apart from the Byzantine and editorial text. Below, I have included a frequency table displaying how often the number of agreements occur across all manuscript comparisons:<sup>46</sup>

***Table 4.3: Frequency Table for Agreements in Variation***

# of Agreements	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative %
0	1,236	45.76	45.76
1	833	30.84	76.60
2	344	12.74	89.34
3	148	5.48	94.82
4	71	2.63	97.45
5	26	0.96	98.41
6	11	0.41	98.82
7	5	0.19	99.00
8	2	0.07	99.07
9	3	0.11	99.16
10	4	0.15	99.33
11	4	0.15	99.48
12	2	0.07	99.56
14	1	0.04	99.59
15	3	0.11	99.70
16	3	0.11	99.81
18	3	0.11	99.93
19	1	0.04	99.96
40	1	0.04	100.00

The table above shows how many times each of the counts appears in the dataset. Thus, 1,236 pairs of manuscripts have 0 agreements, 833 pairs have 1 agreement, and one pair has 40 agreements—namely 010 and 012. These data make clear that manuscripts do not frequently agree with one another apart from the Byzantine and editorial texts. Indeed, approximately 99 percent of the comparisons have 6 agreements or fewer. What about manuscripts known to have a very close relationship with one another? Manuscripts 1739 and 1881, for instance, share 15 agreements, and, as previously mentioned, 010 and 012 share 40

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<sup>46</sup> Again, by “all” here I mean those manuscripts defined in n. 4 and n. 39 above.

agreements. I propose, then, the following rough guidelines<sup>47</sup> for interpreting agreement in variation:

$x < 5$	moderate low to likely little genealogical relationship
$x = 5-9$	moderate low to potentially significant genealogical relationship
$x > 10$	likely significant genealogical relationship

### Comparison with Previous Textual Histories

With these data and guidelines in mind, I now turn to discuss the genealogical results of 2 Thessalonians in relation to those of Zuntz, Carlson, and Solomon. All three studies discuss groupings associated with the traditional text-type categories,<sup>48</sup> namely, “Eastern,” “Western,” and “Byzantine” groups. Of course, unsurprisingly, the Byzantine text clearly emerges in the data for 2 Thessalonians. This is evident by looking at the pregenealogical coherence for manuscript 35, one of my five chief representatives of the Byzantine text. It has seven manuscripts with greater than 99% agreement, eight between 98% and 99%, thirteen between 97% and 98%, and twelve between 96% and 97%. That makes forty manuscripts with greater than 96% agreement with manuscript 35. However, did the Byzantine text arise out of the so-called “Eastern” group of manuscripts as Zuntz and Carlson posit? This claim cannot be substantiated with the data available for 2 Thessalonians though some of the results may support the hypothesis. Specifically, manuscript 35 has a higher pregenealogical coherence with manuscripts associated with the “Eastern” group than with the “Western” group: for instance, its average agreement with 01 and 03 is 93.25% while its average agreement with 06, 010, and 012 is 89.17%.

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<sup>47</sup> These guidelines are inspired somewhat by common sense: less than five agreements seems too few to justify a close relationship between manuscripts and manuscripts known to be closely related typically share greater than 10 agreements. Cf. the section below entitled “Closely Related Manuscripts and Groups of Manuscripts.”

<sup>48</sup> For more on the history of the text-type concept and its decline see Eldon J. Epp, “Textual Clusters: Their Past and Future in New Testament Textual Criticism,” in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research* (ed. Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes; NTTSD 42; 2d. ed.; Leiden: Brill, 2013), 519–577. Carlson and Solomon, at times, utilize these terms for pragmatic reasons, but are well aware of their dubiousness.

As for the “Western” group itself, some interesting findings emerge for 2 Thessalonians. To begin, 06 does not appear to have an extremely close relationship to 010 and 012 in terms of pregenealogical coherence, sharing only 88.13% agreement with the former and 88.98% with the latter. For 06, these percentages rank one hundred and twentieth and one hundred and twenty-eighth, respectively, when all manuscripts are compared with its text.<sup>49</sup> Conversely, 06 ranks forty-ninth for 010 and seventy-fourth for 012—somewhat higher but not among their closest relatives. Indeed, none of these data seem to indicate a close relationship. This finding aligns with Solomon’s results for Philemon. His quantitative analysis suggested that 06 was less closely related with 010 and 012. This led him to compare the results of 06, 010, and 012 across *Text und Textwert* in terms of *Teststellen* agreement, revealing high agreement (>70%) between 06 and 010/012 for Romans, 1 Corinthians, and Ephesians but lower agreement (<58%) for the rest of the Pauline Epistles. From his analysis of TuT, he also concluded that “012 agrees with 06 at a higher percentage than 010 does with 06; and 010 and 012 share a high percentage of agreement. The numbers from the QA of Philemon, therefore, are comparable to those found in TuT for the relationship of the traditionally Western witnesses.”<sup>50</sup> All of these results are consistent with the pregenealogical genealogical coherence for these manuscripts for 2 Thessalonians: 010 and 012 share a very close agreement; 06 does not appear to be very closely related to these manuscripts; 012 may be slightly closer to 06 than 010.

In terms of agreements in variation, the data are less clear. Manuscript 06 shares 7 and 6 unique agreements with 010 and 012, respectively. These counts are above my lowest threshold but not significantly so. Nevertheless, 010 and 012 rank first and second for agreements in variation with 06 and a handful of the agreements seem to be particularly

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<sup>49</sup> With these figures I include commentary and lacunose manuscripts to illustrate how far down the list 06 ranks.

<sup>50</sup> Solomon, “Textual History,” 581.

significant: (a) only 06 and 010/012 read *ενθαυμασθῆναι* in place of *θαυμασθῆναι* in 2 Thess 1:10; (b) 06, 010/012, and only a few others (044 606 2005 2138) read *διδούς* in place of *διδόντος* in 1:8; (c) finally, 06, 010/012, a few others (02 33<sup>vid</sup> 1115 2105 2544), and the entire Latin tradition (per NA28) reads *τόπω* instead of *τρόπω* in 3:16. Thus, *some* genetic relationship seems to exist between 06 and 010/012, but the agreement is not overwhelming. Indeed, one might argue that 06 also has *some* relationship with 03, its top-ranked pregenealogical relative with 92.47% agreement and a manuscript with which it also shares 5 unique agreements.<sup>51</sup> Therefore, while 06 has ties with 010/012 and perhaps more than average, the relationship is not as compelling as expected.

What then can be said regarding the manuscripts traditionally grouped together as “Western”? A “Western” group does not *clearly* emerge in the data of the Greek tradition for 2 Thessalonians since a close relationship merely between two manuscripts (010 and 012) does not constitute enough evidence to justify a branch, stream, or major group. Of course, I have not utilized the versions and church fathers like Zuntz and Carlson;<sup>52</sup> perhaps these witnesses would substantiate a “Western” group for 2 Thessalonians. The distance between 06 and 010/012 also warrants further study. Their pregenealogical coherence does not suggest a close relationship but their higher number of agreements in variation implies at least a subtle relationship though not enough to justify something as significant as a “text-type,” group, or branch. In this regard, these data appear to align more with Solomon than Zuntz and Carlson, given that the latter two found evidence suggesting a grouping of these manuscripts while the former did not. In the least, a reevaluation of the relationship between 06 and 010/012 is in order—one which takes into account the possible effects of block

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<sup>51</sup> Though only two of these unique agreements may be particularly significant: in 2 Thess 3:6, only 03 and 06 omit *ἡμῶν*; in 2:16, only 03, 06, 33, 1739, and 1881 read *θεὸς ὁ πατήρ*.

<sup>52</sup> I do note that in NA28 the sigla “lat” and “latt” agree more with 02 than with 06, 010, or 012, though this is only across 17 variation units.

mixture. Indeed, an analysis of the pregenealogical coherence and agreements in variation of 06 with 010/012 across the whole Pauline corpus would be a worthwhile investigation.

What about the “Eastern” group or groups of manuscripts identified across all three studies? These manuscripts include 01, 02, 03, 33, 81, and 1739. Below, I present two tables. The first displays the amount of pregenealogical coherence between these manuscripts with the number of agreements in variation in parenthesis. The second shows the closest ancestor<sup>53</sup> and average pregenealogical coherence for each of these manuscripts.

**Table 4.4: Comparison of the “Eastern” Manuscripts**

MS	01	02	03	33	81	1739
01	100					
02	94.58 (3)	100				
03	94.27 (0)	94.25 (2)	100			
33	92.62 (0)	92.08 (2)	93.31 (2)	100		
81	93.62 (1)	94.91 (4)	94.27 (2)	92.45 (1)	100	
1739	93.13 (1)	93.27 (2)	94.93 (3)	92.80 (4)	93.29 (1)	100

**Table 4.5: Mean and Closest Relative for the “Eastern” Manuscripts**

MSS	Mean	Max	Closest Relative
01	91.73	94.58	02
02	92.65	94.91	81
03	92.77	94.93	1739
33	90.68	93.31	03
81	93.59	95.75	436
1739	92.44	97.38	1881

Several significant observations emerge from the tables above. First, none of the manuscripts agree with one another above 95%. Second, all but 81 have a mean agreement *below* the average agreement across all manuscripts of 93.40% from Table 4.1. Finally, none of the manuscripts have a significant number of agreements in variation.<sup>54</sup> And yet many of these “Eastern” manuscripts have one another as their closest relative. How should these data

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<sup>53</sup> For this table, the “closest ancestor” is determined using pregenealogical coherence.

<sup>54</sup> Of course, by definition, my “agreements in variation” excludes agreements with the editorial text and these manuscripts are closest to the editorial text. Yet, despite this closeness, 1739 and 1881 still share 15 agreements in variation.

be interpreted? I am reminded of Klaus Wachtel's explanation for why the early majuscules do not show the same level of agreement as the later Byzantine manuscripts:

The reason for the big difference between early manuscripts and the Byzantine witnesses is obvious. In the realm of the Byzantine text the next relatives of very many manuscripts are still extant, while as a rule we only have single documents from centuries earlier than the 9<sup>th</sup>.... *Their* [the early majuscules and papyri] *close relatives are all lost*, although of course the rate of agreements of P75 and 03 is really impressive. But this is a rare exception. *Seeing the consistency of the Byzantine tradition one may very well regard each of the early uncials and papyri as a text-type of its own* [italics mine].<sup>55</sup>

Also relevant are Carlson's remarks regarding the "Alexandrian" text, part of which was quoted earlier:

It must be pointed out that nowhere in this description has been mentioned an "Alexandrian" text. The reason for this omission is that the Alexandrian text—as usually conceived with P46, B, 8, A, C, 33, and 1739—is not a stemmatically coherent text. *These witnesses are merely those with a high quality text but there is no special genealogical relationship among them* [italics mine].<sup>56</sup>

The comments of Wachtel and Carlson provide a lens to understand the pregenealogical coherence and agreements in variation for the "Eastern" manuscripts. Their lower overall pregenealogical agreement with one another and less-than-significant agreements in variation suggests that if *all* of the manuscripts which ever existed for 2 Thessalonians were extant we would not regard the so-called "Alexandrian" manuscripts as closely related. They certainly are not closely related in the same way as the late Byzantine manuscripts (like 35 and 1101), or 1739 and 1881, or 010 and 012. Instead, they show only average agreement with one another. However, on the other hand, they remain each other's closest relatives in the data above because they share a high-quality text and their closest relatives are lost. If one were to imagine the results on a stemma, these "Eastern" manuscripts would be higher up the tree than, for instance, the Byzantine text, but at a greater distance from one another than the bulk of Byzantine manuscripts farther down. Their missing relatives should not lead us to presume

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<sup>55</sup> Klaus Wachtel, "Colwell Revisited," 38.

<sup>56</sup> Carlson, *The Text of Galatians and Its History*, 243.

a closer relationship than actually existed. Consequently, the traditional “text-type” concept does not appear to be very helpful for the data for 2 Thessalonians.<sup>57</sup> To speak of the “Alexandrian” text-type and Byzantine text-type uses the term “text-type” in two different senses with different levels of agreement involved. Of course, it is worth bearing in mind that for 2 Thessalonians—with its high percentages of overall pregenealogical coherence—nearly *all* manuscripts are very closely related in a sense. Nevertheless, the closest relatives for the “Alexandrian” manuscripts are not extant and these manuscripts form a “group” in a much wider or different sense than many of the later Byzantine manuscripts. At the same time, this evidence does not falsify the Eastern stream or branch posited by Zuntz and Carlson. These concepts are more broadly defined than the “text-type” notion; the pregenealogical data I am using cannot detect the flow of development with specificity though it can be approximated by comparing agreement with the editorial text—i.e., the earliest form of the text. In this regard, many of the “Alexandrians” clearly have a high-quality text. Below, I list those manuscripts which share 95% or higher agreement with the editorial text with the traditional “Alexandrian” manuscripts in bold.

***Table 4.6: Manuscripts Closest to the Editorial Text***

Manuscript	Pregen. w. Ed. Text	Byzantine Coherence
<b>03</b>	<b>97.22%</b>	<b>13%</b>
<b>01</b>	<b>96.89%</b>	<b>13%</b>
436	96.24%	69%
<b>81</b>	<b>96.07%</b>	<b>47%</b>
256	96.07%	53%
203	95.91%	66%
<b>02</b>	<b>95.90%</b>	<b>32%</b>
1845	95.75%	50%
6	95.58%	59%
2805	95.58%	58%
1912	95.58%	31%
025	95.56%	50%

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<sup>57</sup> See also David Parker’s discussion of text-types in which he notes that the terms “Alexandrian,” “Western,” and “Byzantine” text-types “mean very different things” (*New Testament Manuscripts and Their Texts*, 171).

Manuscript	Pregen. w. Ed. Text	Byzantine Coherence
<b>1739</b>	<b>95.42%</b>	<b>31%</b>
020	95.41%	84%
1101	95.25%	97%
517	95.09%	94%
35	95.09%	100%
1456	95.09%	91%
2464	95.03%	31%
<b>33</b>	<b>95.03%</b>	<b>16%</b>

As can be seen in the chart above, several of the so-called “Alexandrians” have a high-quality text (namely, 01, 02, 03, 81, 1739, 33). And, as in Acts and the Catholic Epistles, 03 has the highest agreement with the editorial text, reinforcing its importance as an early witness. What is striking about this result is that almost not a single significant decision went in its favor in my textual commentary based on external evidence *alone*.<sup>58</sup> In other words, the *internal evidence* supports the superiority of the text of 03.

It is also worth noting that several Byzantine manuscripts appear on the chart including 020, 203, 517, 1456, and 35, demonstrating the minimal differences between the editorial text and the Byzantine text in the case of 2 Thessalonians. Moreover, a manuscript like 35—which has perfect Byzantine coherence and is therefore a good representative of the Majority text—is closer to the editorial text than the majority of manuscripts in my edition. This is striking because manuscripts were selected for this thesis based on their deviation from the Majority text, but the Majority text actually ends up being closer to the editorial text than most of the manuscripts selected.

As for the remaining manuscripts on the list, their value has been previously recognized to a certain extent as they have all been placed in Aland and Aland’s categories II (i.e., 256,

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<sup>58</sup> Readings whose justification is e>i and which involve 03 always include the majority of manuscripts or a split tradition. The only exception in the commentary occurs in 2 Thess 3:12 (ἐν κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ), though Fee still thinks 03 has the more difficult reading (cf. Gordon D. Fee, *The First and Second Letters to the Thessalonians* [NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009], 332–333, n. 71).



2464) or III (i.e., 025, 6, 436,<sup>59</sup> 1845, 1912); that is, manuscripts of “special quality” or “a distinctive character . . . usually important for establishing the original text.”<sup>60</sup> Their higher agreement with the editorial text in 2 Thessalonians may warrant a revaluation of the quality of their text. Do these manuscripts preserve an even higher quality text than previously regarded?

And what about manuscript 1739, which appears across all three studies? Below, I list manuscripts with greater than 94% pregenealogical coherence with 1739, including their agreements in variation:

***Table 4.7: Genealogical Data for 1739***

Manuscript	Pregen. Coherence	Agreements in Var.
1881	97.38%	15
6	96.07%	6
03	94.93%	3
436	94.60%	0
35	94.27%	0
1101	94.11%	0

Other than with 6 and 1881,<sup>61</sup> 1739 does not share a particularly close relationship with any manuscript. Majuscule 03 is near my threshold of 95% but this could be due to the fact that both 03 and 1739 have a high-quality text. These results for 1739 do not necessarily *strongly* align or contradict the findings of Zuntz, Carlson, or Solomon. Zuntz regarded 1739 more highly than either Carlson or Solomon. For 2 Thessalonians, 1739 has a relatively high-quality text, being the thirteenth closest manuscript to the editorial text with 95.42% overall pregenealogical coherence. Yet, it is difficult to discern how this result compares with Carlson’s and Solomon’s findings since their judgements were qualitative and relative to

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<sup>59</sup> Starting with NA28, manuscript 436 is now listed among the “Consistently Cited Witnesses in the Catholic Letters.”

<sup>60</sup> Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, *The Text of the New Testament* (trans. by Erroll F. Rhodes. 2d ed. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989), 106. Of course, these categories are no longer used by the INTF.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. J. N. Birdsall, “A Study of MS. 1739 and Its Relationship to MSS. 6, 424, 1908 and M” (Ph.D. diss., University of Nottingham, 1959).

even higher-quality manuscripts like P46, 01, 02, 03 and 33 for Carlson and 01, 02, 04, and 33 for Solomon. The majority of these manuscripts (01, 02, and 03) either have a superior text in 2 Thessalonians as well or are lacunose (P46 and 04).

As for Zuntz's reliable combinations of witnesses, most of his claims<sup>62</sup> are not clearly evident in 2 Thessalonians, though some of this is (a) due to his focus on P46, which, again, is lacunose for 2 Thessalonians and, perhaps, (b) because my sample size of one epistle is smaller than his (1 Corinthians and Hebrews). Nevertheless, a few observations can still be made, using the data from the variation units discussed in my commentary chapter:

- Excluding uncertain readings marked with a diamond, the editorial text is always preserved in either 01 or 03. Though not exactly supporting Zuntz's second finding, this observation affirms his respect for the "Alexandrian" tradition evident therein: "The 'Alexandrian' family as a whole, from P46 onwards, stands a good chance of being right against all other witnesses."
- The traditional "Western" witnesses (06, 010, 012) never preserve the earliest reading against the other "text-types." This goes against Zuntz's third finding that "the Western witnesses alone sometimes, but very rarely, preserve the original wording." There is also not an example of the "Western" witnesses preserving the earliest reading with the "other Alexandrians." Zuntz only noted one such example (1 Cor 8:8) in his fifth finding.
- The Byzantine text never preserves the earliest reading against the major majuscules. When the Byzantine text does preserve the earliest reading in the variation units selected for my commentary, it is nearly always supported by at least two of the major majuscules (01, 02, 03, 06, 010, 012) and usually more—though in 2 Thess 2:13a it has the earliest reading with 03, 33, 1739, and 1881.

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<sup>62</sup> These are quoted on p. 167 above or in Zuntz, *The Text of the Epistles*, 158–159.

This perhaps supports Zuntz’s first finding that “the evidence of late witnesses becomes important whenever it is anticipated by P46, B, or some Western witnesses.”

Despite the observation of the last bullet point above, it is important to keep in mind that the Byzantine text is relatively a very good witness overall, agreeing with the editorial text in more than 95% of the variation units. And, though I have not reversed any of the readings in the critical edition of this thesis in favor of the Byzantine text, I have added one variation unit where the Byzantine text *may* record the earliest reading,<sup>63</sup> as indicated by a diamond in the text. Having looked at previous textual histories of the Pauline text, I now turn to discuss the Byzantine text in more detail. The results of the section above will be summarized in this chapter’s conclusion.

### **The Byzantine Text**

In this section I will summarize some of the recent research regarding the origin of the Byzantine text and then discuss how the genealogical data for 2 Thessalonians align or depart with these findings. For this section, the “Byzantine Text,” when referenced broadly, refers to the form of the text found in the majority of manuscripts dating between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries;<sup>64</sup> when referenced narrowly for 2 Thessalonians it refers to the text defined by the majority reading of the five Byzantine manuscripts used in my edition (35 517 999 1354 1609). These definitions are essentially the same in the case of 2 Thessalonians.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Namely, 2 Thess 3:8 (νυκτὰ καὶ ἡμέραν).

<sup>64</sup> Note Wachtel’s similar definition quoted below.

<sup>65</sup> See also my comments below (pp. 188–189) on the apparent lack of diversity in the mature Byzantine tradition for 2 Thessalonians.

## Recent Research on the Origin of the Byzantine Text

Important changes in how scholars view and understand the Byzantine tradition have taken place over the last 25 years.<sup>66</sup> This recent scholarship has essentially overturned the traditional views of the Byzantine tradition popularized by Westcott and Hort. Westcott and Hort viewed the Byzantine text as the result of a deliberate, “sanctioned,”<sup>67</sup> fourth-century recension which utilized other forms of the text existing at the time—in their words, the “Neutral,” “Alexandrian,” and “Western” texts.<sup>68</sup> They came to this conclusion, in part, due to the characteristics which they observed in the Byzantine text, that is, a tendency toward “smooth,” “attractive,” and “conflated” readings. To requote Zuntz from above: the Byzantine text is the “latest text” and it contains “the largest proportion of corruptions.”<sup>69</sup> This perspective of the Byzantine text as a deliberate “smoothing” of difficult readings and as a historical recension had substantial influence on subsequent scholarship. In Michael Holmes’ words: the view of the Byzantine text “as a late secondary textual tradition with no independent access to the earlier recoverable form . . . is still evident in the field. One sees it clearly, for example, in the analysis and comments in the UBS *Textual Commentary*

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<sup>66</sup> The narrative of the Byzantine text (and the discussion of the Harklean witnesses) laid out in this section has become commonplace recently and I am more or less rehearsing the discussion. Cf. Parker, *New Testament Manuscripts and Their Texts*, 305–308; Michael W. Holmes, “Reasoned Eclecticism in New Testament Textual Criticism,” in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research* (ed. Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes; NTTSD 42; 2d. ed.; Leiden: Brill, 2013), 784–786; Peter J. Gurry, “The Harklean Syriac and the Development of the Byzantine Text,” *NovT* 60 (2018), 184–189; Lanier, “Taking Inventory,” 287–291.

<sup>67</sup> See Westcott and Hort’s use of “sanctioned” in Brooke F. Westcott and Fenton J. A. Hort, *The New Testament in the Original Greek: Introduction and Appendix* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1882), 136.

<sup>68</sup> “The Syrian [= Byzantine] text . . . is the chief monument of a new period of textual history. Whatever petty and local mixture may have previously taken place within limited areas, the great lines of transmission had been to all appearance exclusively divergent. Now however the three great lines [= Neutral, Alexandrian, and Western] were brought together, and made to contribute to the formation of a new text different from all” (ibid., 132–133).

<sup>69</sup> Zuntz’s comments are worth quoting at length here: “The Byzantine is the latest text and it is both natural and evident that it contains the largest proportion of corruptions. Most of the specially Byzantine readings rule themselves out of court without ado. The chance that, even so, they are far older than the manuscript which attest them is none the less great. Between, say, A.D. 200 and 800 much new corruption could, and did, infect the tradition upon which the Byzantine editors relied. They evidently tended to adopt the smoothest among competing readings and that, as a rule, meant the spurious ones. Even so, we are now warned not to discard the Byzantine evidence *en bloc*” (Zuntz, *The Text of the Epistles*, 56).

published by the UBS/NA editorial committee, which routinely give little more than merely cursory consideration to Byzantine variants.”<sup>70</sup>

In contrast to the views of Westcott and Hort, Klaus Wachtel has argued that the Byzantine text was not the result of a deliberate recension but of a process that occurred over centuries. For Wachtel, the Byzantine text has roots in the earliest history of the text but probably did not reach its final form until the ninth century;<sup>71</sup> this final form is “characterized by readings attested by the majority of all Greek manuscripts from the thirteenth – fifteenth centuries.”<sup>72</sup> Wachtel made this case initially in his *Der byzantinische Text Der Katholischen Briefe* but also in several subsequent articles.<sup>73</sup> His argument is based, in part, on the data available from the test passages for the Catholic Epistles in *Text und Textwert*,<sup>74</sup> an analysis of atypical Majority readings,<sup>75</sup> and, later, from the pargenealogical data published by INTF for the Gospels<sup>76</sup> and Acts.<sup>77</sup> One trend Wachtel observes is that important dateable

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<sup>70</sup> Holmes, “Reasoned Eclecticism,” 786.

<sup>71</sup> Wachtel states: “In der späten Phase der Koine-Entwicklung, die im 9. Jahrhundert erreicht ist, kommt ein jahrhundertelanger Prozeß des Ausgleichs zwischen verschiedenen Textformen ans Ziel. Der Byzantinische Text ist vollständig ausgeprägt” (Klaus Wachtel, *Der byzantinischen Text der Katholischen Briefe* [ANTF 24; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1995], 197). For a concise overview of Wachtel’s three phases of the Byzantine tradition see *ibid.*, 197; for a helpful summary of his thesis see *ibid.*, 199–202.

<sup>72</sup> Klaus Wachtel, “The Byzantine Text of the Gospels: Recension or Process” (paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, New Orleans, 2009), 1. Online: [http://www.uni-muenster.de/NTTextforschung/cbgm\\_presentation/ByzEvPDF.zip](http://www.uni-muenster.de/NTTextforschung/cbgm_presentation/ByzEvPDF.zip).

<sup>73</sup> Klaus Wachtel, “Colwell Revisited: Grouping New Testament Manuscripts,” 31–43; Barbara Aland and Klaus Wachtel, “The Greek Minuscules of the New Testament,” in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research* (ed. Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes; NTTSD 42; 2d. ed.; Leiden: Brill, 2013), 69–91; Klaus Wachtel “Early Variants in the Byzantine Text of the Gospels,” in *Transmission and Reception: New Testament Text-Critical and Exegetical Studies* (ed. Jeffrey Childers and D. C. Parker; Piscataway: Gorgias, 2006), 28–47; *idem.*, “The Corrected New Testament Text of Codex Sinaiticus” in *Codex Sinaiticus: New Perspectives on the Ancient Biblical Manuscript* (London: The British Library, 2015), 97–106.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. Wachtel, *Der byzantinische Text*, 49–72 and the commentary section, Teil II.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. Wachtel, *Der byzantinische Text*, 74, 131–134, 199–200. The atypical readings are those which are neither the smoothest or easiest but rather the more difficult. For the Catholic Epistles see his list in *ibid.*, 81–82.

<sup>76</sup> These data are accessible online at [http://intf.uni-muenster.de/TT\\_PP/](http://intf.uni-muenster.de/TT_PP/).

<sup>77</sup> Klaus Wachtel, “The Byzantine Text: The Last Text-Type Standing?”

manuscripts (with, therefore, dateable texts) or groups of manuscripts vary in the degree to which they share Byzantine readings. For instance, in a 2009 SBL presentation, which is available online,<sup>78</sup> he used data from the Parallel Pericopes project<sup>79</sup> to demonstrate a development essentially from less Byzantine to more Byzantine for the following manuscripts: 01–03–01c–042–022–02–041–18.<sup>80</sup> This is roughly a progression from the earliest majuscules (fourth century), to a correction of Sinaiticus toward the Byzantine text (fifth–seventh centuries), to the purple codices (sixth century), to a manuscript (= 041) from the time around the transition from majuscule to minuscule script (ninth century), to a chief representative of the K<sup>l</sup> tradition (= 18). Wachtel earlier had identified a similar development in the Catholic Epistles where the Greek representatives of the Harklean Syriac text—a group which reveals a state of the text in the seventh century—appear to represent a middle state of the Byzantine tradition between its early roots in the third and fourth centuries and its later final form.<sup>81</sup> Of course, this is not to imply a simple linear development of less Byzantine to more Byzantine for all Greek manuscripts across time. Codex Alexandrinus is a fifth century manuscript, but, for the Gospels, it is predominately Byzantine. Wachtel prefers to describe the process in the following way:

A marked feature of the process before the 9<sup>th</sup> century is movement towards the stage found in late Byzantine manuscripts, but the development was not homogeneous and consistent. There was a growing pool of majority readings, i.e. readings shared by the majority of manuscripts in all phases of the transmission history, but the proportion of such readings in manuscripts of the same time is quite different.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> Wachtel, “The Byzantine Text of the Gospels: Recension or Process.”

<sup>79</sup> See especially *Novum Testamentum Graecum – Editio Critica Maior: Parallel Pericopes* (ed. H. Strutwolf and K. Wachtel; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2011).

<sup>80</sup> See Wachtel, “The Byzantine Text of the Gospels,” 2–7 and the accompanying table showing pregenealogical agreement with the Majority Text.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. Wachtel, *Der byzantinische Text*, 57–66; 194–197.

<sup>82</sup> Wachtel, “The Byzantine Text of the Gospels,” 8. See also Zuntz’s description of the development of the Byzantine text in n. 69 above.

So, in this view, the Byzantine text was not the product of a fourth-century recension, but rather of a complex (non-linear) process marked by a growing reservoir of Byzantine readings with its final form appearing by the ninth century. This alternative textual history of the Byzantine tradition proposed by Wachtel has significant repercussions. If the Byzantine text is not the result of a deliberate recension but instead developed over time and has its roots in the earliest period of the Greek manuscript tradition, then its readings cannot be simply ignored and it should, as appropriate, be considered a potential witness to the earliest text.<sup>83</sup> Indeed, this change in perspective is reflected in the ECM where, as is well known, several Byzantine readings are now thought to be the earliest. Furthermore, Wachtel's research and this related reevaluation of Byzantine readings in the ECM appear to have shifted the field of textual criticism—such that the recent major handbooks report this change in perspective.<sup>84</sup> What then does the data from 2 Thessalonians contribute to this issue?

## 2 Thessalonians and the Byzantine Text

To evaluate these more recent claims for the history of the Byzantine tradition, I will use Byzantine coherence described at the outset of this chapter. Byzantine coherence measures the amount of agreement a manuscript has across the 32 distinct Byzantine readings in 2 Thessalonians—i.e., those distinct readings that diverge from the editorial text or which are marked with a ♦.<sup>85</sup> For this thesis, a Byzantine reading is defined as the majority reading

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<sup>83</sup> Gurry summarizes the situation nicely: “a change in the understanding of the text's history also changes the restoration of the earliest text. Where the Byzantine text is rejected as later and derivative, its unique readings are likewise rejected; where this same text is viewed as an accumulative development with early roots, its unique readings may be accepted as original particularly when the internal evidence warrants” (Gurry, “The Harklean Syriac and the Development of the Byzantine Text,” 189).

<sup>84</sup> As noted by Gurry, “The Harklean Syriac and the Development of the Byzantine Text,” 189. See also Holmes, “Reasoned Eclecticism,” 784–790.

<sup>85</sup> This is consistent with how others have defined the Byzantine text. For instance, Lanier defines the Byzantine tradition as “the distinctive pattern of readings attested in the vast majority of post-ninth century minuscules” (Lanier, “Taking Inventory,” 273). See also Wachtel's description of the Byzantine text: “Als ‘byzantinisch’ werden diejenigen Mehrheitslesarten bezeichnet, durch die sich der Text der byzantinischen Kirche von früheren Textformen, vor allem aber vom ursprünglichen Text unterscheidet. Byzantinische Lesarten sind also solche, die den Byzantinischen Text als späte, ursprungferne Textform charakterisieren” (*Der*

among 35, 517, 999, 1354, and 1609. Of course, the Byzantine tradition is not monolithic. It has its own internal diversity.<sup>86</sup> However, there may have been less internal diversity for the mature Byzantine tradition of 2 Thessalonians than other New Testament books.<sup>87</sup> There are only three variation units where the Byzantine tradition is split and there may not be any distinct K<sup>r</sup> readings for 2 Thessalonians.<sup>88</sup> For my purposes, this lack of diversity means that the difference between how I have defined the (mature) Byzantine text for 2 Thessalonians and however else it might have reasonably been defined are likely to be immaterial for the analysis that follows.

To begin, I note that Westcott and Hort's description of the Byzantine text as adopting more "smooth and attractive" readings holds true for 2 Thessalonians. Of the 32 distinct readings, I count at least half as being easier or "smoother" readings.<sup>89</sup> For instance, the Byzantine tradition includes readings which add clarifying prepositions or pronouns such as the addition of ἐν to the bare datives in 2:10 and 2:12 or the addition of ὁμοῦς and ὁμοῖν in 2:17 and 3:4. It also includes the explanatory gloss ὡς θεόν in 2:4 (which makes the antichrist's intentions more explicit) and the expected future πέμψει in 2:11b. More common

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*byzantinische Text*, 7–8). Gurry alerted me to this definition ("The Harklean Syriac and the Development of the Byzantine Text," 194).

<sup>86</sup> For more on the internal diversity of the Byzantine tradition see Lanier, "Taking Inventory," 284–285. I have not provided an in-depth analysis of the internal diversity of the Byzantine tradition for 2 Thessalonians.

<sup>87</sup> As noted above, GA 35, which has perfect Byzantine coherence, has 40 manuscripts with which it shares 96% or higher pregenealogical coherence—and the manuscripts selected for this thesis are those that diverge most from the Majority text!

<sup>88</sup> In an online document, Wilbur Pickering observes that K<sup>r</sup> (what he calls "family 35") is "always accompanied by at least 40%" of Byzantine manuscripts in 2 Thessalonians, suggesting that K<sup>r</sup> does not have any distinct readings in 2 Thessalonians. See his "Diagnostic Readings in the Pauline Corpus" available online at <http://www.walkinhiscommandments.com>. Pickering also has many other documents discussing his method of defining family 35. Obviously, these materials have not undergone peer review and should therefore be used with an appropriate amount of caution.

<sup>89</sup> See Appendix 2 ("Byzantine Coherence"). I have in mind 2 Thess 1:4a, b; 2:2a, 4, 6, 8b, 10b, 11b, 12, 13b, 17b; 3:4, 6b, 12, 13b, 14b.



morphological forms are also adopted over their rarer counterparts: εἴλετο is preferred to εἶλατο in 2:13 and παρέλαβον is preferred to παρελάβοσαν in 3:6.

Nevertheless, the presence of these “smoother” readings does not justify ignoring the whole testimony of the Byzantine tradition. Zuntz is the exemplar in this regard: “They [the Byzantine editors] tended to adopt the smoothest among competing readings and that, as a rule, meant the spurious ones. Even so, we are now warned not to discard the Byzantine evidence *en bloc*.”<sup>90</sup> As discussed above, Zuntz viewed the Byzantine tradition as developing out of the Eastern stream or “reservoir”; thus, “the Alexandrian tradition represents an early main channel of that stream, one that was able to avoid many (but not all) of the faults of the tradition which preceded it, but which also lost some good readings which other channels preserved and passed along to the Byzantine text.”<sup>91</sup> Consequently: “the Byzantine text, on occasion, may alone preserve original readings.”<sup>92</sup> Thus, on the one hand, Zuntz was able to maintain a balance between recognizing the antiquity and importance of the Byzantine tradition for the earliest form of Paul’s Epistles, while, on the other, also acknowledging the presence of later accretions.

For 2 Thessalonians, the antiquity of the Byzantine tradition can be observed by the fact that nearly half (15) of the 32 Byzantine readings are supported by at least one of the early majuscules, namely, 01, 02, or 03. Although some of these readings may have arisen independently, this finding would seem to support Zuntz’s and Wachtel’s claims for the antiquity of Byzantine readings. And yet, the earliest manuscripts are also the least likely to

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<sup>90</sup> Zuntz, *The Text of the Epistles*, 56.

<sup>91</sup> Michael W. Holmes, “*The Text of the Epistles Sixty Years After: An Assessment of Günther Zuntz’s Contribution to Text-Critical Methodology and History*,” in *Transmission and Reception New Testament Text-Critical and Exegetical Studies* (Text and Studies 4; ed. Jeffrey Childers and D. C. Parker; Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2006), 110.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, 111.

be Byzantine overall. The table below shows the Byzantine coherence for complete manuscripts from the ninth century or earlier.<sup>93</sup>

**Table 4.8: Byzantine Coherence for Pre-Tenth Century Manuscripts**

Manuscript	Byz. Coherence	Century
01	13%	IV
02	32%	V
03	13%	IV
06 <sup>94</sup>	34%	VI
010	34%	IX
012	34%	IX
018	88%	IX
020	84%	IX
025	50%	IX
0150	77%	IX
0151	94%	IX
0278	47%	IX
33	16%	IX
2464	31%	IX

In the table above only four manuscripts (28%) can be described as Byzantine: 018, 020, 0150, and 0151—all of which are from the ninth century. Of course, 0151 and 018 are both *very* Byzantine with 30 of 32 (94%) and 28 of 32 (88%) Byzantine readings, respectively. These two facts, the infrequency of Byzantine manuscripts in the early period combined with the presence of some which are *very* Byzantine, suggest that the Byzantine tradition in its full form existed by at least the ninth century<sup>95</sup> but had not yet come to dominate the textual tradition. This finding aligns with Aland and Wachtel’s claim that “the Koine text in the standardized form typical of the second millennium came to dominate the tradition only after the New Testament began to be transmitted in the minuscule script.”<sup>96</sup> So, in the least, these

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<sup>93</sup> I have excluded 044 which is dated to the ninth or tenth century because it may be dated to the tenth century. It has a Byzantine coherence of 44%. The dates are taken from the *Liste*.

<sup>94</sup> Although 06 and 010/012 have the same percentage of Byzantine coherence, they only overlap in five of eleven possible Byzantine readings for 06.

<sup>95</sup> Of course, the date of a manuscript is not necessarily equivalent with the date of its text. The ninth century manuscripts in the table above could bear witness to earlier texts.

genealogical data for 2 Thessalonians suggest that the *dominance* of the Byzantine tradition had not taken place by the ninth century. A broader view of the data from 2 Thessalonians is presented below, where the average Byzantine coherence has been grouped into the fourth – ninth centuries, the tenth century, and the eleventh – seventeenth centuries:

37% 4–9<sup>th</sup> centuries (n=12)  
49% 10<sup>th</sup> century (n=4)  
77% 11–17<sup>th</sup> centuries (n=59)

For the centuries within the 11<sup>th</sup> – 17<sup>th</sup> grouping, the average Byzantine coherence for each century is between 72% and 81%.<sup>97</sup> These data demonstrate the ascendancy of the Byzantine tradition by the eleventh century and probably earlier since the number of manuscripts from the tenth century is insufficient to make meaningful conclusions. These percentages for 2 Thessalonians are also broadly reflected in the data available across the whole of the Pauline Epistles. I list now the average percentage of Majority readings for manuscripts<sup>98</sup> based on the *Teststellen* data available in *Text und Textwert*:

55% 4–9<sup>th</sup> centuries (n=18)  
89% 10<sup>th</sup> century (n=29)  
92% 11–17<sup>th</sup> centuries (n=531)

Of course, the age of the manuscript does not necessarily correlate with the age of the accompanying text. At best, the age of the manuscript provides a *terminus ante quem* for the age of the text. Thus, later manuscripts can transmit earlier texts. The text of 01 or 03, for instance, cannot be later than the fourth century,<sup>99</sup> but the text of a twelfth century minuscule

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<sup>96</sup> Barbara Aland and Klaus Wachtel, “The Greek Minuscules of the New Testament,” in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research* (ed. Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes; NTTSD; 2d. ed.; Leiden: Brill, 2013) 71. On the following page they also state: “Only after the so-called μεταχαρκτηρισμός does the actual triumph of the Koine begin” (ibid., 72).

<sup>97</sup> It is worth remembering that for this thesis I have targeted manuscripts which deviate the most from the Majority Text. Thus, these percentages would be much higher if all manuscripts were included as reflected in the *Teststellen* data that follow.

<sup>98</sup> I have excluded manuscripts which are missing *Teststellen* for three or fewer Pauline Epistles. These data were made available to me via a spreadsheet created by the INTF.

<sup>99</sup> That is, assuming the dates assigned to them based on paleography are correct.

could be much earlier. Consequently, for the purpose of understanding the state of the Pauline text between the fourth and eighth centuries, texts of manuscripts dated to those time periods are of great significance, since they provide a terminus date while the texts of later manuscripts are temporally ambiguous. Unfortunately, earlier manuscripts are quite rare with only a handful available. Equally rare are later manuscripts whose texts can be dated firmly to an earlier period. This is why the Greek group of the Harklensis, utilized by Wachtel, is so exceptional. Thomas of Harkel created a new Syriac translation of the New Testament in 615/616 C.E. This translation was an extremely literal version of its Greek Vorlage, which, in the case of the Pauline Epistles, Aland and Juckel have argued goes back to a single Greek manuscript.<sup>100</sup> Aland and Juckel also helped identify Greek manuscripts which are closely related to the Greek Vorlage of the Harklensis (hereafter Hk<sup>gr</sup>), namely, 1505, 1611, 2138, and 2495.<sup>101</sup> Thus, the common ancestor of these later Greek minuscules can be dated with confidence to the seventh or eighth century.<sup>102</sup> And, consequently, these minuscules themselves provide an imperfect vista into at least one state of the text from that time period. This is significant: having firm evidence which enables the identification of the text of a later minuscule to a specific earlier time period is a rare occurrence—so much so that Peter Williams has described the importance of connecting these later minuscules with the

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<sup>100</sup> Cf. Barbara Aland and Andreas Juckel, *Das Neue Testament in syrischer Überlieferung. I Die grossen Katholischen Briefe* (ANTF 7; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1986), 41–93. I was alerted to this passage by Wido van Peursen, review of Barbara Aland and Andreas Juckel, *Das Neue Testament in syrischer Überlieferung: II Die Paulinischen Briefe, Teil 3: 1./2. Thessalonicherbrief, 1./2. Timotheusbrief, Titusbrief, Philemonbrief und Hebräerbrief*, AS 2 (2004), 122 (including n. 6).

<sup>101</sup> Cf. Barbara Aland and Andreas Juckel, *Das Neue Testament in syrischer Überlieferung. II Die Paulinischen Briefe, Teil 3: 1./2. Thessalonicherbrief, 1./2. Timotheusbrief, Titusbrief, Philemonbrief und Hebräerbrief* (ANTF 32; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2002), 44.

<sup>102</sup> In the words of Aland and Juckel: “Deshalb ist Z [= the ancestor of the Greek group] zeitlich wohl kaum viel später als Hk<sup>gr</sup> [= the Greek Vorlage of the Harklensis] anzusetzen, also spätestens ins 7./8. Jh.” (Aland and Juckel, *Das Neue Testament in syrischer Überlieferung: 1./2. Thessalonicherbrief*, 47).

Harklensis as “one of the most significant recent discoveries in New Testament textual criticism.”<sup>103</sup>

What then is the Byzantine Coherence for the Greek Harklensian group for 2 Thessalonians? Here are the results:<sup>104</sup>

56%	Hk <sup>gr</sup> <sup>105</sup>
63%	1505
63%	1611
70%	2138
88%	2495

Manuscripts 2138 and 2495 are less valuable for this analysis since, in the case of 2 Thessalonians, the former has significant lacunae and the latter departs significantly from Hk<sup>gr</sup>.<sup>106</sup> However, 1505 and 1611 appear to be closely related to Hk<sup>gr</sup>, both sharing more readings with Hk<sup>gr</sup> across the thirty-two readings measuring Byzantine Coherence than any other manuscript in my dataset.<sup>107</sup> The text of their common ancestor—which is most likely reflected in their shared departures from the Byzantine Text with Hk<sup>gr</sup>—appears, therefore, to be from the seventh or eighth century. Thus, these minuscules offer another vista into a pre-ninth century state of the text and, in this instance, the manuscripts are only about two-thirds Byzantine. Incidentally, these percentages align with Lanier’s recent analysis of the

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<sup>103</sup> Peter Williams, “The Syriac Versions of the New Testament” in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research* (ed. Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes; NTTSD 42; 2d. ed.; Leiden: Brill, 2013), 155. Gurry uses this quote from Williams to make essentially the same point (cf. “The Harklean Syriac and the Development of the Byzantine Text,” 188).

<sup>104</sup> Unfortunately, manuscripts 1505, 1611, and 2495 were not included in my editions because they agree with the Majority Text more than 87.5% of time in the *Teststellen* utilized for this thesis. Nevertheless, I was able to calculate their Byzantine coherence based on the collation of these manuscripts in Aland and Juckel in *Das Neue Testament in syrischer Überlieferung: 1./2. Thessalonicherbrief*, 458–460.

<sup>105</sup> This is the Greek Vorlage of the Harklensis reconstructed by Aland and Juckel in *Das Neue Testament in syrischer Überlieferung: 1./2. Thessalonicherbrief*, 458–460.

<sup>106</sup> Manuscript 2138 is lacunose for 2 Thess 1:1–1:2 and 2:11–3:3. Manuscript 2495 only shares four non-Byzantine readings with Hk<sup>gr</sup>, all of which are all shared by 1505, 1611, and 2138 (when extant).

<sup>107</sup> Respectively, 1505 and 1611 share twenty-eight and thirty of the possible thirty-two readings. The next two closest manuscripts are 2002 and 2482 with twenty-five shared readings. The average number of shared readings is nineteen. Also, 1505 and 1611 share, respectively, eleven and twelve non-Byzantine readings with Hk<sup>gr</sup>.

Byzantine “tendency” of 2138, which he found to be about 60% Byzantine for Acts and the Catholic Epistles.<sup>108</sup>

With the value of the Greek Harklensian group now recognized, I present the data for the few dateable texts available for the Greek manuscript tradition between the fourth – ninth centuries, which show a progression from less Byzantine coherence to more Byzantine coherence.

**Table 4.9: Byzantine Coherence of Dateable Manuscripts/Texts**

Century	Byz. Coh.	Manuscript(s)
IV	13%	01, 03
IV–?	31%	1739 <sup>109</sup>
V	32%	02
VI	34%	06
VII/VIII	63%	1505, 1611
IX <sup>110</sup>	94%	0151

## Summary

In sum, the Byzantine text of 2 Thessalonians existed in its full form at the latest by the ninth century. It did not dominate the tradition until the tenth century. Nearly half of its readings are attested in the earliest strata of the extant Greek manuscript tradition for 2 Thessalonians. I also note here that many of the other readings are attested by important church fathers and the versions and, perhaps most frequently by Chrysostom and the Syriac versions.<sup>111</sup> But even Chrysostom’s text appears to have been only 75% Byzantine<sup>112</sup> and the

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<sup>108</sup> Cf. Lanier, “Taking Inventory,” 288–289.” Note that Lanier calculates his Byzantine percentages by comparing when the manuscripts in his dataset side with the “bulk of the Byzantine minuscules” versus the “bulk of the ‘Alexandrian’ majuscules” (ibid., 288). It is also worth noting that this divergence of the members of the Greek Harklensis group from the Byzantine text in Acts (at least for 2138 per Lanier) and 2 Thessalonians may be at odds with the often repeated observation that the Harklensis was mostly Byzantine *except* for the Catholic Epistles (cf. Williams, “The Syriac Versions of the New Testament,” 154). This discrepancy deserves further attention.

<sup>109</sup> Regarding the date of the text of 1739 see Zuntz, *The Text of the Epistles*, 71–77; Parker, *New Testament Manuscripts and Their Texts*, 261–264.

<sup>110</sup> Although other manuscripts, as shown previously, are dated to the ninth century, I list here only 0151 since it demonstrates a mature state of the Byzantine text.

Peshitta—which is noted for its Byzantine tendencies—is nevertheless mixed.<sup>113</sup> All of the data above, though somewhat limited, align best with the perspective of development advocated by Wachtel. I think Lanier has offered a succinct description of this perspective that is exceptionally apt:

The Byzantine tradition—as we now know it in its mature late-medieval form—existed in some ancestral immature form *in the earliest eras of textual transmission*, developed gradually over time towards increasing consistency (but still not monolithic), and offers independent attestation to ancient variant readings that may not be preserved in other textual traditions [*italics his*].<sup>114</sup>

Table 4.9 presents a simple linear development. The situation was certainly more complex than these eight manuscripts portray. More likely, there was a general trend toward the final form of the Byzantine text attested by the ninth century with the number of available Byzantine readings increasing over time but their proportion in individual manuscripts and groups of manuscripts from the same time period varying. The contribution of this section to the discussion of the Byzantine text has been to examine more granular data (i.e., Byzantine coherence) for a specific New Testament book. Some of these findings were more or less already known,<sup>115</sup> but this section, in the least, has quantified them with greater specificity.

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<sup>111</sup> I make this observation based on comparing the support of the church fathers and versions in the NA28 edition and Tischendorf's 8<sup>th</sup> edition.

<sup>112</sup> Cf. Aland and Wachtel, "The Greek Minuscules of the New Testament," 71 n. 8. However, see the recent research of Peter Montoro, which calls into question the reliability of the editions on which the claims about the Byzantine nature of Chrysostom's texts are based (Peter Montoro, "The Lemmata of the Romans Homilies of John Chrysostom as a Text-Critical Source: A Preliminary Investigation" [BD diss., University of London, 2018]).

<sup>113</sup> Cf. Bruce Metzger, *The Early Versions of the New Testament: Their Origin, Transmission, and Limitations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 61.

<sup>114</sup> Lanier, "Taking Inventory," 288–289. By "earliest eras of textual transmission," Lanier appears to refer to the time period (i.e., second to third century; cf. *ibid.*, 286) before the extant evidence for 2 Thessalonians (fourth century). Regardless, his overall point aligns with what I have demonstrated: many Byzantine readings are ancient but the Byzantine text as a whole—once all of its readings have been assembled together—is later (ninth century).

<sup>115</sup> I have in mind the fact that most pre-ninth century manuscripts are not Byzantine (cf. Aland, *Text of the New Testament*, 140–142).

Also, though implied, it is important to point out explicitly that the conclusions of this section are applicable only to 2 Thessalonians. It is easy for slippage to occur such that conclusions for the “Byzantine text” of 2 Thessalonians (or the Catholic Epistles, for that matter) become reported as results simply for the Byzantine text holistically. Different books of the New Testament have their own unique transmission history as does the Byzantine text for those books.

Additionally, I think it is worth noting again how close all states of the text are to one another, at least in the case of 2 Thessalonians. My “Byzantine Coherence” consists of 32 distinct readings—in terms of pargenealogical coherence, 32 of 611 variation units or only about 5% of the text. This is why manuscript 35, which has perfect Byzantine coherence, agrees with the editorial text in about 95% of the variation units. The discussion of what is Byzantine or not, therefore, is a discussion about a small portion of the total text.

Finally, this section has, at times, focused on the value of the Byzantine tradition for identifying the earliest forms of the text, but this is not its only contribution to textual criticism. It also bears witness to how the text was transmitted and interpreted throughout church history, an important topic in its own right. As quoted above, scholars of yesteryear occasionally refer to non-original Byzantine reading as “corruptions” or “spurious.”<sup>116</sup> These descriptions have a negative connotation and lose sight of the “treasure house” which is the Byzantine tradition.<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>116</sup> See the quotes of Zuntz above.

<sup>117</sup> “Treasure house” is David Parker’s term. For more on this topic see his excellent article, “New Testament Textual Traditions in Byzantium,” in *The New Testament in Byzantium* (ed. Derek Krueger and Robert S. Nelson; Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 2016), 26. I note also Hendel’s use of the term “innovation” to describe textual change rather than “corruptions” etc. (cf. Ronald S. Hendel, “The Epistemology of Textual Criticism,” in *Reading the Bible in Ancient Traditions and Modern Editions: Studies in Memory of Peter W. Flint* [ed. Andrew B. Perrin, Kyung S. Baek, and Daniel K. Falk; Atlanta: SBL Press, 2017], 252–253).



### Closely Related Manuscripts and Groups of Manuscripts

I now turn to discuss closely related manuscripts and groups of manuscripts that emerged in the data. To identify such relationships, I looked for manuscripts above *both* thresholds described above for pregenealogical coherence *and* agreements in variation—those thresholds which indicate a very close relationship between manuscripts. Specifically, I mean manuscripts which share greater than 95% pregenealogical coherence *and* 10 or more agreements in variation. Manuscripts which agree with one another below these thresholds (or only one of them) may still share an important relationship; I have used these upper limits in order to identify the most closely related manuscripts.

My analysis can be divided into two sections: pairs of manuscripts above both thresholds and groups of manuscripts, whose members all agree with one another above both thresholds. I begin with closely related pairs. In the table below, I have listed each manuscript, their pregenealogical coherence, their agreements in variation, and their commentary type, if applicable. The table is ordered by agreements in variation.

***Table 4.10: Closely Related Pairs of Manuscripts***

MS-1	MS-2	Pregen. Coh.	Agr. Var.	Comm. Type
1985	2102	96.69	44	Theophylact
010	012	97.99	40	
2000	2248	96.40	20	Theophylact
1739	1881	97.38	15	
254	1524	98.69	12	Theophylact
1976	1984	97.38	12	Theophylact
90	384	98.85	11	
455	1961	98.99	11	Theophylact
2005	2138	98.07	11	
104	459	99.34	10	
1973	2197	99.18	10	Theophylact
2002	2482	98.34	10	Theophylact

Several interesting findings present themselves in this table—other than the preponderance of Theophylact commentaries, which I will address momentarily. As a baseline, perhaps it is helpful to note the presence of 010/012 and 1739/1881, two pairs

which have long been acknowledged in the secondary literature as having a close relationship. In the case of 010/012, it has even been speculated that their relationship may be parent-child or that both were copied from the same exemplar.<sup>118</sup> This makes the number of agreements in variations for 1985/2102 all the more striking. With 44 agreements, it is at the top of the list. Moreover, most of the 44 are agreements *only* between 1985/2102, with some being quite peculiar or even nonsense readings.<sup>119</sup> Although I have not undertaken a strict study of the relationship between 1985/2102, the possibility that they are parent-child, siblings, or cousins of some sort seems quite plausible. To my knowledge their close relationship has not yet been recognized in the secondary literature.<sup>120</sup>

The close relationship between 2005/2138 is also worth noting since 2138 is a member of the Greek Harklensis group. These two manuscripts share 11 agreements in variation and 98.07% pregenealogical coherence. Additionally, although both manuscripts have significant lacunae in 2 Thessalonians, their Byzantine coherence is perfect in the variation units in which both are extant—in other words, they both agree with or depart from the Byzantine text in the same passages. Manuscript 2005 is not listed as a member of “Family 2138” by Aland and Juckel,<sup>121</sup> although its close relationship with 2138 has been noted elsewhere.<sup>122</sup> There is little to no bibliography for manuscript 2005.<sup>123</sup>

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<sup>118</sup> See W. H. P. Hatch, “On the Relationship of Codex Augiensis and Codex Boernerianus of the Pauline Epistles,” *HSCP* 60 (1951), 187–199. Hatch ends up rejecting this possibility arguing instead that they are cousins with one or more intermediaries between each and the archetype (ibid., 195–196).

<sup>119</sup> I have in mind, for instance, the random ἵνα in 1:3, the additional τό before περί in 2:10, the reading ταχέως βουλευθῆναι in 2:2, the first plural reading ἐκαλέσαμεν in 2:14, the unique order of ἔργῳ ἀγαθῷ καὶ λόγῳ in 2:17, and the reading ὧμεν in 3:9.

<sup>120</sup> Neither manuscript has a significant bibliography (cf. J. K. Elliott, *A Bibliography of Greek New Testament Manuscripts* [NTS 160; 3d. ed.; Brill: Leiden, 2015]).

<sup>121</sup> Aland and Juckel in *Das Neue Testament in syrischer Überlieferung: 1./2. Thessalonicherbrief*, 44.

<sup>122</sup> Both manuscripts are classified as I<sup>c1</sup> by von Soden. They are listed as a “Familie” in the discussion of the manuscripts for the Pastoral Epistles in *Text und Textwert* (Kurt Aland, *Text und Textwert der griechischen Handschriften des neuen Testaments: II: Die Paulinischen Briefe; Band 4: Kolosserbrief bis Hebräerbrief* [ANTF 19; de Gruyter: Berlin 1991], 364). See also the discussion of “Family 2138” at the online

Manuscripts 104 and 459 should be also be mentioned briefly, both of which are dated precisely (respectively to 1087 and 1092). The close relationship of these two manuscripts is unsurprising as they were both written by the same scribe, John Tzoutzounas.<sup>124</sup> They only differ in four variation units.

Finally, it is significant that so many Theophylact commentaries occur in the table. This raises the question of how close these manuscripts are as a group and whether the intricacies of their relationships could be traced with some success. Below I provide a sample, which illustrates their closeness but also shows how some of the relationships fall below my thresholds. To my knowledge, the genealogical relationship of Theophylact commentary manuscripts (based on their biblical text) has not been studied in any depth.

**Table 4.11: Genealogical Data for Select Theophylact Commentary MSS**

MS	1973	1976	1984	1985	2102	2197
1973	100					
1976	96.56 (7)	100				
1984	96.56 (8)	97.38 (12)	100			
1985	91.89 (10)	89.37 (6)	90.73 (10)	100		
2102	92.38 (11)	90.22 (8)	90.56 (10)	96.69 (44)	100	
2197	99.18 (10)	96.72 (6)	96.73 (7)	91.72 (8)	91.89 (8)	100

I now turn to mention two groups of manuscripts for whom all members share agreements above my thresholds. The first I will call “Group 330”,<sup>125</sup> it includes manuscripts 330, 451, 1398, 2400, 2492, and 2516.

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Encyclopedia for NT Textual Criticism. Online:  
<https://www.skypoint.com/members/waltzmn/Manuscripts2000plus.html#m2138>.

<sup>123</sup> Cf. its entry at the NTVMR or Elliott, *Bibliography of Greek Manuscripts*.

<sup>124</sup> Cf. Georgi Parpulov, “The Bibles of the Christian East,” in *The New Cambridge History of the Bible: From 600 to 1450* (ed. Richard Marsden and E. Ann Matter; vol. 2 of *The New Cambridge History of the Bible*; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 312 n. 19.

<sup>125</sup> I do not intend to convey a technical meaning for the use of the word “group” other than that the respective members are all above the agreement thresholds described.

**Table 4.12: Genealogical Data for Group 330**

MS	330	451	1398	2400	2492	2516
330	100					
451	99.18 (18)	100				
1398	97.86 (15)	98.68 (18)	100			
2400	97.71 (14)	98.2 (16)	97.53 (15)	100		
2492	96.20 (10)	96.20 (11)	95.51 (10)	95.04 (8)	100	
2516	97.71 (16)	98.2 (19)	97.53 (18)	97.38 (16)	95.70 (12)	100

As can be viewed above, these manuscripts share a close relationship with one another—a relationship, which for some of the manuscripts has been acknowledged before, though, as far as I can tell, all six have never been listed together.<sup>126</sup>

The final group I will call “Group 582”. Its members include 582, 620, and 1918. To my knowledge a close relationship between these manuscripts has not been previously observed.

**Table 4.13: Genealogical Data for Group 582**

MS	582	620	1918
582	100		
620	97.36 (11)	100	
1918	95.01 (11)	96.01 (12)	100

The above discussion has identified three groups of manuscripts: a group of Theophylact commentary manuscripts, Group 330, and Group 582. The members of the latter two groups are all interrelated above my stated thresholds while the Theophylact group is not, though I have grouped those manuscripts together nonetheless since so many pairs of Theophylact commentary manuscripts are so closely related. It may be helpful now to examine the average Byzantine coherence and pregenealogical coherence with the editorial text for each of these groups:

**Table 4.14: Group Overview**

MS	Pregen. Coh. w. Ed. Text	Byz. Coh.
Theoph. Group	93.20	76
Group 330	93.65	56
Group 582	92.45	82

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<sup>126</sup> *Text und Textwert* lists 1398, 2400, 2492, and 2516 as a family (*Text und Textwert: Kolosserbrief bis Hebräerbrief*, 364). The Online New Testament Textual Criticism Encyclopedia lists “Family 330” as a “Text-type” whose members include 330, 451, and 2492.

When compared with Group 330, the Theophylact group and Group 582 both share higher percentages of Byzantine coherence and slightly lower percentages of pargenealogical coherence with the editorial text. Qualitatively, Group 330 also appears to be closer to the editorial text attesting several important editorial readings against the Byzantine text, namely, καθίσαι (without ὡς θεόν) in 2:4, ἀνέλει in 2:8, πέμπει in 2:11, and εἶλατο in 2:13. As for the other two groups, neither Group 582 nor the Theophylact group, as a whole, attest important editorial readings against the Byzantine text. Moreover, in at least two places where the Theophylact group departs from the Byzantine text it appears to be derivative from it: (a) in 2:4, it has transposed the Byzantine ὡς θεόν after καθίσαι; (b) in 3:12, over half of the members of the group have the unique reading, μεσίτην παραλάμβαντες τὸν Χριστόν, which is seemingly an interpretation of the Byzantine text.<sup>127</sup>

Thus, of these three groups, Group 330 appears to have the most value for understanding earlier forms of the text. Unfortunately, in NA28, none of its members are currently listed among the “Consistently and Frequently Cited Witnesses in the Pauline Letters.” As the volumes of the ECM edition of the Pauline Epistles appear, Group 330 may be one that should be kept in mind and analyzed so that its closeness and value as a group can be accessed and a representative member perhaps incorporated into the appropriate iteration of the Nestle-Aland apparatus.

### **Excursus: Testing the *Teststellen* Method**

Before turning to summarize the findings of this chapter, I will digress slightly from its main focus to evaluate the *Teststellen* method with the genealogical data now available. Manuscripts selected for this thesis were chosen based on the nine *Teststellen* for 1/2

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<sup>127</sup> See my comments on this variant in Chapter 3 (“Textual Commentary”).

Thessalonians with the goal of identifying and excluding the most Byzantine texts.<sup>128</sup> Now that the Byzantine coherence has been calculated for each of the manuscripts herein, the degree to which each is actually Byzantine is known and the reliability of the *Teststellen* method can somewhat be tested. Here is the pertinent question: How accurate is the *Teststellen* method for 1/2 Thessalonians at predicting the degree to which a manuscript is Byzantine? Or, more specifically, how strong is the correlation between initial *Teststellen* agreement and final Byzantine coherence? With the results in, the relationship between these two variables can be analyzed. To accomplish this, I shall examine their statistical correlation, a technique used to measure and quantify “the strength of the linear relationship between two variables.”<sup>129</sup> Correlation measures the degree to which two variables increase or decrease relative to one another. The output of a correlation test is a single numerical coefficient ranging between -1 and 1. A negative coefficient indicates the presence of a negative linear relationship—as one variable increases, the other decreases (e.g., a student’s number of absences compared with their academic performance). A positive coefficient indicates the presence a positive linear relationship—as one variable increases, so does the other (e.g., height compared with shoe size). A zero indicates the absence of any linear relationship. Below, I have displayed the standard guidelines for interpreting the strength of a positive correlation coefficient:

***Correlation Coefficient Guidelines***<sup>130</sup>

0–0.3	Negligible Correlation
0.3–0.5	Low Positive Correlation
0.5–0.7	Moderate Positive Correlation
0.7–0.9	High Positive Correlation
0.9–1.0	Very High Positive Correlation

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<sup>128</sup> For more on the *Teststellen* method see Chapter 1, “Introduction,” 5–8.

<sup>129</sup> Kathleen F. Weaver et al., *An Introduction to Statistical Research: With Application in the Biological and Life Sciences* (New Jersey: Wiley, 2018), 435.

<sup>130</sup> Cf. D. E. Hinkle, W. Wiersma, and S. G. Jurs, *Applied Statistics for the Behavioral Sciences* (5th ed. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2003). As quoted in M. M. Mukala, “A Guide to Appropriate Use of Correlation Coefficient in Medical Research,” *Malawi Med J.* (2012), 71.

The two standard measures of correlation are Pearson's and Spearman's correlation tests.<sup>131</sup> Pearson's test is used when the data are continuous and normally distributed. Spearman's test is considered a viable alternative when these requirements are not met. I ran both of these tests comparing for each manuscript the (1) *Teststellen* agreement with the Majority Text across the nine *Teststellen* for 1/2 Thessalonians and (2) Byzantine coherence for 2 Thessalonians. Both variables were expressed as a percentage. I present below the correlation coefficients for these comparisons.<sup>132</sup>

***All MSS***

Pearson: 0.719

Spearman: 0.672

***Commentary MSS excluded***

Pearson: 0.799

Spearman: 0.765

Though I have listed Pearson's coefficient, Spearman's coefficient is more appropriate given that the data are neither continuous nor normally distributed.<sup>133</sup> Nevertheless, as illustrated above, for each of the correlation coefficients reported, there is high positive correlation (or nearly a high positive correlation in one case) between *Teststellen* agreement with the Majority Text and Byzantine coherence. These results demonstrate that, at least in the case of these selected manuscripts from 2 Thessalonians,<sup>134</sup> the *Teststellen* method has been very reliable at predicting the degree to which a manuscript will be Byzantine or not.<sup>135</sup> More

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<sup>131</sup> For a helpful introduction to these statistical tests see Chapter 10, "Pearson's and Spearman's Correlation" in Weaver, *An Introduction to Statistical Research*, 435–471.

<sup>132</sup> The correlation coefficients were calculated using Stata 14.2. In all cases,  $p < .005$ .

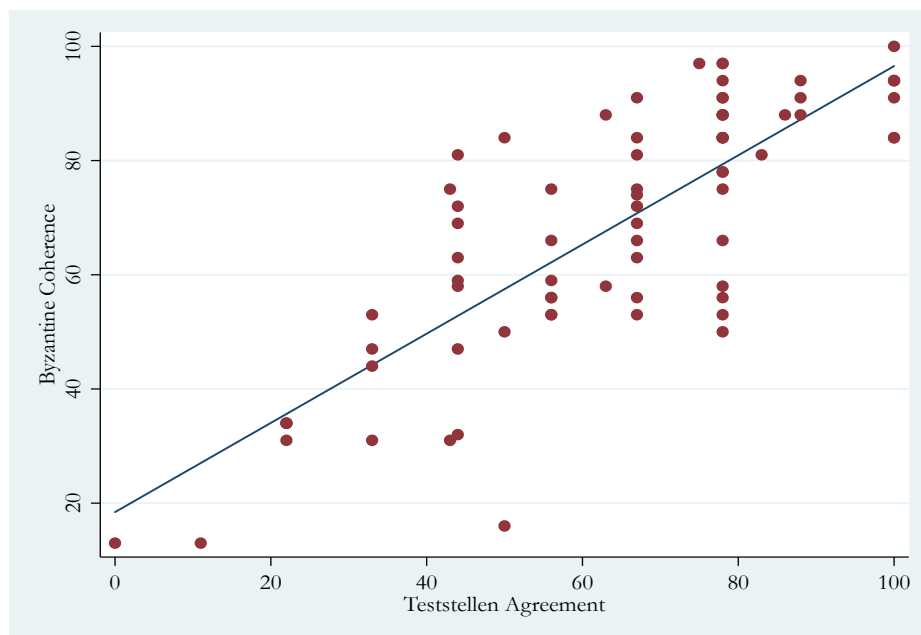
<sup>133</sup> Cf. Weaver, "Pearson's and Spearman's Correlation," 435–471.

<sup>134</sup> Strictly speaking, these results cannot be extrapolated to all of the MSS of 2 Thessalonians since I have excluded the bulk of the manuscripts which agree with the Majority text more than 87.5% across the *Teststellen*. To extrapolate the results, a further experiment would need to be run: a random sample (at least 30 MSS) of these mostly Byzantine MSS would need to be selected and analyzed. If they ended up being highly Byzantine as the *Teststellen* would suggest, then the method would be justified, at least for 2 Thessalonians. Still, it has proven accurate for nearly 23% (137 of 595) of all of the manuscripts of 2 Thessalonians.

<sup>135</sup> Of course, correlation measures association between two variables not causation. In the present instance, there are good reasons to think that the close association between *Teststellen* agreement with the

precisely, the Majority Text agreement for the 9 *Teststellen* selected for 1/2 Thessalonians has a high positive correlation with the Byzantine coherence of the same manuscripts for 2 Thessalonians. This is significant since only nine *Teststellen* were used for 1/2 Thessalonians—far fewer than the 98 used for the Catholic Epistles and the 104 used for Acts. These results should encourage those working on the ECM who are relying on the *Teststellen* method to select their manuscripts. Even with few *Teststellen*, the method *can be* very accurate.<sup>136</sup> I now illustrate the results graphically with a scatterplot of Byzantine Coherence and *Teststellen* agreement; commentary manuscripts have been excluded from this chart.

**Figure 4.1: Scatterplot of Byzantine Coherence and *Teststellen* Agreement**<sup>137</sup>




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Majority text and Byzantine Coherence is more than a mere coincidence: (1) these two variables are already linked by the fact that they are both based on whether readings are Byzantine or not; (2) the *Teststellen* were chosen precisely because they were thought to be diagnostic of the degree to which a manuscript would turn out to be Byzantine; (3) there is not a known confounding variable or alternative hypothesis that would otherwise explain why these two variables would be closely associated.

<sup>136</sup> Of course, the accuracy of the *Teststellen* method will depend on the quality of *Teststellen* chosen. The test passages chosen for 2 Thessalonians appear to have achieved their intended goal. However, this does not mean that *Teststellen* for other New Testament books will be as effective. Consequently, these results suggest the *Teststellen* method *can be* effective, but it has not demonstrated that it *has been* in other instances.

<sup>137</sup> This chart was created using Stata 14.2.



This chart illustrated graphically what the correlation coefficient quantified—there is a strong positive correlation between these two variables; generally speaking, as one increases so does the other.

It is also interesting that when commentary manuscripts are excluded the degree of the correlation increases. This appears to be due to the fact that commentary manuscripts, though mostly Byzantine, have readings that are likely derivative of the Byzantine text, but which are counted as non-Majority in *Text und Textwert* (i.e., as *Sonderlesarten*). This can be demonstrated both quantitatively with the genealogical data and by looking at specific *Teststellen*. Quantitatively, commentary manuscripts have a lower *Teststellen* agreement with the Majority Text than their non-commentary counterparts, but are, in fact, more Byzantine and less closely related to the editorial text. In the following table, I display *Teststellen* agreement with the Majority Text, Byzantine coherence, and Pregenealogical coherence with the editorial text for the both “regular” manuscripts and commentary manuscripts. I have excluded the early, famous majuscules (01, 02, 03, 06, 010, 012) from these figures as they are less comparable with commentary manuscripts than the later minuscules.

**Table 4.15: Commentary MSS vs. “Regular” MSS**

Type	Teststellen % Maj. Text	Byz. Coh.	Pregen. Coh. w. Ed. Text
Regular MSS	67.44	71.75	94.07
Commentary MSS	64.6	78	93.38

So, at least for this thesis, commentary manuscripts are more Byzantine, more distant from the editorial text, and yet have a lower *Teststellen* agreement with the Majority Text. If we look at the *Teststellen*, themselves, the same pattern emerges: commentary manuscripts are more Byzantine than their *Teststellen* would seem to indicate. In *Teststelle 7* (2 Thess 2:4), for instance, the Majority reading is τοῦ θεοῦ ὡς θεόν καθίσαι while the NA28 reads simply τοῦ θεοῦ καθίσαι. There is also an alternative reading which transposes ὡς θεόν with καθίσαι and is probably derived from the Majority Text. Among the 45 commentary

manuscripts in this edition, 13 have the Majority reading, 4 have the NA28 reading, 2 are lacunose, and 24 have the transposed reading. The same situation occurs for *Teststelle* 8 (2 Thess 2:8). The Majority reading is ὁ κύριος ἀναλώσει and the NA28 reading is ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς ἀνελεῖ. Again, however, there is a third reading likely derived from the Majority, namely, ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς ἀναλώσει. Among the commentary manuscripts, 12 have the Majority reading, 1 has the NA28 reading, and 31 have the derived, conflated reading.<sup>138</sup>

So, commentary manuscripts tend to be more Byzantine than their *Teststellen* would imply. This fact and the phenomena observed above for individual *Teststellen* raises the possibility of overrepresentation of commentary manuscripts in editions.<sup>139</sup> If commentary manuscripts tend to have *Sonderlesarten* which are likely derived from the Byzantine text, then they also might tend to fall below Majority Text thresholds used to qualify manuscripts for inclusion in ECM editions. These manuscripts and their readings are very important but they tell us less about the history of the text in the first millennium, the stated goal of the ECM.

Despite the overall accuracy of the *Teststellen* method demonstrated above, I would also like to point a few examples of significant manuscripts which were unfortunately excluded or very Byzantine manuscripts which were nevertheless included. For instance, two of the important members of the Greek Harklensis group (1505 and 1611) were excluded because they only have one *Teststelle* which departs from the Majority Text. These are important witnesses and their exclusion based on *Teststellen* suggests that editors using the method may still need to make qualitative judgements about important manuscripts which would otherwise be excluded if nine *Teststellen* are relied upon alone. Conversely, manuscript 1101 has only 75% *Teststellen* agreement, ensuring its inclusion; yet, it has 97% Byzantine

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<sup>138</sup> Also, one commentary manuscript has ὁ κύριος ἀνελεῖ (0150).

<sup>139</sup> I note that for the manuscripts included in this thesis, 37% of the minuscules are commentary manuscripts even though they only make up 20% of the extant manuscripts of 2 Thessalonians.

coherence and 99.84% pregenealogical coherence with the Byzantine text—the highest percentage in the dataset! In fact, for 2 Thessalonians, it agrees with the Byzantine Text in 610 of 611 variation units. Its lower *Teststellen* agreement is due to one test passage from 1 Thessalonians and one from 2 Thessalonians. The test passage for 2 Thessalonians happens to be the one variation unit where 1101 departs from the Byzantine Text! With fewer *Teststellen*, 1/2 Thessalonians is more susceptible to this type of error. The availability of more *Teststellen* would have been better. In the absence of more *Teststellen*, the use of test passages from other Pauline Epistles might be a viable supplement to the data for 1/2 Thessalonians. For manuscript 1101, its *Teststellen* agreement in 1/2 Thessalonians (75%) could be compared with its agreement across all of the Pauline Epistles (96.81%).<sup>140</sup>

In sum, the *Teststellen* selected for 1/2 Thessalonians are fairly reliable at predicting the degree to which a manuscript will be Byzantine, at least for the MSS included in this thesis. This provides further justification of the *Teststellen* method and supports the findings of others.<sup>141</sup> Nevertheless, editors relying on test passages to select manuscripts for an edition may want to consider supplementing their selection with *Teststellen* from other Pauline Epistles or what they otherwise know about significant manuscripts.<sup>142</sup>

### Summary of Genealogical Findings

To close this chapter, I will provide a numbered summary of its most important findings. By way of reminder, my approach has been to analyze the textual history of the Greek

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<sup>140</sup> This data point is from an online application of the INTF, which was not available when I was selecting manuscripts. Online: <http://intf2.uni-muenster.de/paul/query.html>.

<sup>141</sup> Cf. S. Matthew Solomon, “‘I Gotta Have More *Teststellen*’: A Proposed Manuscript Selection Process for the ECM Volume on Philemon” (paper presented at the Hoskier Conference, Dublin, Ireland, 28–30 August, 2017); Hugh A. G. Houghton and Catherine J. Smith, “Digital Editing and the Greek New Testament,” in *Ancient Worlds in Digital Culture* (ed. Claire Clivaz, Paul Dilley, and David Hamidović; Brill: Leiden, 2016), 113.

<sup>142</sup> At a late stage in this thesis, I learned that the editors of the ECM of the Pauline Epistles have adopted this very strategy (Cf. H. A. G. Houghton, “An Initial Selection of Manuscripts for the *Editio Critica Maior* of the Pauline Epistles,” in *The New Testament in Antiquity and Byzantium. Traditional and Digital Approaches to its Texts and Editing* [ed. H. A. G. Houghton, David C. Parker, and Holger Strutwolf; ANTF 52; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2019 ], 343–359).

tradition of 2 Thessalonians via three forms of genealogical data: pregenealogical coherence, agreements in variation, and Byzantine coherence. I have discussed what these data reveal in comparison with previous research on the Pauline text and the Byzantine tradition. I have also used these data to identify closely related manuscripts and groups of manuscripts. Finally, these data have also helped assess the value of the *Teststellen* method for 2 Thessalonians. From this discussion, the most salient findings are as follows:

1. The text of 2 Thessalonians shows a significant degree of stability among the extant manuscripts. Manuscripts have a high average agreement with one another (93.40 percent) and with the editorial text (94.07 percent). These rates of agreement are higher than other books of the New Testament for which pregenealogical data is currently published—namely, Acts and the Catholic Epistles.
2. Manuscript 06 is less closely related to 010/012 than expected based on the studies of Zuntz and Carlson. In this regard, the findings of this thesis align more with Solomon than the former two. Given that these manuscripts are often grouped together as “Western,” further study of their relationship using pregenealogical coherence across all Pauline books was suggested.
3. The so-called “Eastern” or “Alexandrian” manuscripts (01 02 03 33 81 1739) all have high-quality texts and appear to represent the earliest forms of the tradition that are extant. Nevertheless, they are not particularly closely related to one another, as indicated by their average pregenealogical coherence and agreements in variation with one another. Thus, their closest ancestors and descendants are lost and each, in a sense, is a “text-type of its own.”<sup>143</sup>
4. Manuscript 03 has the highest pregenealogical coherence with the editorial text. The high quality of its text was justified by the internal evidence as argued in Chapter 3

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<sup>143</sup> Klaus Wachtel, “Colwell Revisited,” 38

(“Textual Commentary”) of this thesis. Manuscript 03 is therefore truly a remarkable manuscript, being the most closely related to the editorial text not only for 2 Thessalonians but also for the *Ausgangstext* for Acts and the Catholic Epistles.

5. The data available for the Byzantine text, though limited, aligned best with the recent “development” perspective of the Byzantine text rather than the recension view of a prior generation. My analysis of the Byzantine coherence of the manuscripts included herein suggested that the Byzantine tradition did not dominate the tradition until after the ninth century. Moreover, the data were consistent with the view that the Byzantine text was not fully formed in the fourth century; its formation was a process which ended by the ninth century.
6. The Byzantine coherence of the Harklean Greek group (1505 1611 2138) was consistent with the findings of others. These manuscripts, whose text is dateable, are only about two-thirds Byzantine.
7. Manuscripts 1985 and 2102 are the two most closely related manuscripts in my datasets, exceeding even 010 and 012, which some have argued are parent-child. They are most likely parent-child, siblings, or cousins of some sort. A full investigation of their relationship would be worthwhile and may shed insight on scribal habits.
8. Several important groups of manuscripts emerged as closely related. A group of Theophylact commentaries (254 455 1524 1961 1973 1976 1984 1985 2000 2002 2102 2197 2248 2482), Group 330 (330 451 1398 2400 2492 2516), and Group 582 (582 620 1918) all shared high pregenealogical coherence and agreements in variation within their respective groups. To my knowledge, the close relationship of the manuscripts within Group 582 has not been previously recognized.

9. The *Teststellen* method accurately predicted the degree to which the manuscripts included in this thesis were Byzantine. This should encourage those editors relying on it. Nevertheless, in the case of the Pauline Epistles, it should be supplemented with *Teststellen* from across all of the Epistles and qualitative judgements as well, when justified.
10. Several of the commentary manuscripts selected for this thesis appear to be derivative from the Byzantine text. However, because they deviate from the Majority reading in the relevant *Teststellen*, they have been included in this thesis. Yet these deviations are a development out of the Majority Text not prior to it.



## CHAPTER 5

### THE PARATEXTUAL FEATURES OF THE MANUSCRIPTS

There has been a recent development in New Testament textual scholarship, following a wider trend in the humanities,<sup>1</sup> to give more prominence to the codicological and paleographical<sup>2</sup> features of New Testament manuscripts.<sup>3</sup> Instead of restricting the focus of their enquiries mostly to the canonical text which a manuscript transmitted, studies now pay more attention to all of the other features of New Testament manuscripts—their dimensions, book format, scribal features, and secondary texts (i.e., paratexts). This interest in “manuscript studies”<sup>4</sup> reflects the importance of these documents as artifacts whose format and presentation affect both the interpretation and transmission of the texts they carry. This shift of interest is manifest in the titles of the standard introductions to New Testament Textual Criticism. In 1981, Kurt and Barbara Aland titled their introduction to the field, *Der Text des Neuen Testaments*,<sup>5</sup> but a generation later, David Parker published *An Introduction to the New Testament Manuscripts and Their Texts*.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> This trend, or at least part of it, has been described as the ‘material turn’: “The humanities and social sciences have taken a material turn. Here, ‘material turn’ refers to the claim of material things and phenomena—objects, practices, spaces, bodies, sensations, affects, and so on—to a place at the center of scholarly inquiry” (Sonia Hazard, “The Material Turn in Religious Studies,” *Religion and Society* 4 [2013], 58).

<sup>2</sup> “Paleography” appears to have both a narrow and broad definition in the secondary literature. Narrowly, it refers strictly to “the study of ancient handwriting.” Broadly, it refers to “all aspects of books produced by hand (manuscripts)” (Julian Brown, “Aspects of Palaeography,” in *A Palaeographer’s View: Selected Writings of Julian Brown* [ed. Janet Bately, Michelle Brown, and Jane Roberts; London: Harvey Miller, 1993], 47). I am using “paleography” in its broader sense in the sentence above.

<sup>3</sup> For a recent and helpful overview of this transition within New Testament studies see Peter Malik, “Biblical Manuscripts: From a Text-Carrier to a Book Project,” *Didaktikos* November (2018): 44–46.

<sup>4</sup> The term “Manuscript Studies” is often used to encompass both codicology and paleography (cf. Natalie Tchernetska, “Manuscript Studies,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Hellenic Studies* [ed. George Boys-Stones, Barbara Graziosi, and Phiroze Vasunia; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009], 747–762; Raymond Clemens and Timothy Graham, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies* [Ithica: Cornell University Press, 2007], xiii).

<sup>5</sup> Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, *Der Text des Neuen Testaments: Einführung in die wissenschaftlichen Ausgaben sowie in Theorie und Praxis der modernen Textkritik* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1981).

<sup>6</sup> D. C. Parker, *An Introduction to the New Testament Manuscripts and Their Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008). Of course, Parker’s work helped accelerate the “material turn” in New



Having discussed the biblical text at length, in the present chapter I will consider the paratexts of the manuscripts of 2 Thessalonians in my corpus. Etymologically, “paratext” means the content “alongside” the Biblical or primary text of a document, including features such as introductions, titles, chapter numbers, and liturgical notations.<sup>7</sup> Martin Wallraff and Patrick Andrist have defined as paratexts “all contents in biblical manuscripts except the biblical text itself.”<sup>8</sup> I have limited my analysis to the minuscule manuscripts in my edition which do not contain a commentary, since many majuscule manuscripts lack most of the paratextual features which became prominent in the medieval period. In addition, the cohesiveness of the non-commentary minuscules as an important subset has been shown in my chapter on genealogical relationships, in which I also observed how most commentary manuscript stand apart from these witnesses.<sup>9</sup> Specifically, I will examine in turn the hypotheses, kephalaia lists, stichometry, book order, and lection identifiers of these manuscripts, describing them and then analyzing their frequency and variety within the manuscripts of 2 Thessalonians. The length of this analysis will vary as some of the paratextual features are straightforward and exhibit little variation while others require more

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Testament Textual Criticism (cf. *Codex Bezae: An Early Christian Manuscript and Its Text* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992]).

<sup>7</sup> The term paratext was first utilized and popularized by Gérard Genette (cf. *Palimpsestes: la littérature au second degré* [Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1982]). For a discussion of Genette’s usage of the term see Matthew R. Crawford, *The Eusebian Canon Tables: Ordering Textual Knowledge in Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 21–28.

<sup>8</sup> Martin Wallraff and Patrick Andrist, “Paratext of the Bible: A New Research Project on Greek Textual Transmission,” *Early Christianity* 6 (2015), 239. In a later article Andrist offers a more precise definition to address some of the ambiguities inherent in the term paratext (cf. Patrick Andrist, “Toward a Definition of Paratexts and Paratextuality: The Case of Ancient Greek Manuscripts,” in *The Bible as Notepad* [ed. Liv Ingeborg Lied and Marilena Maniaci; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2018], 130–150). See also their exciting and significant project “Paratexts of the Bible” at <http://www.paratexbib.eu>.

<sup>9</sup> The manuscripts included in my analysis are as follows: 6 33 35 38 61 81 88 90 104 131 142 203 218 256 263 330 365 384 425 436 451 459 506 517 582 620 629 630 915 941 999 1101 1115 1127 1241 1311 1352 1354 1390 1398 1409 1448 1456 1573 1609 1661 1729 1739 1751 1830 1838 1845 1867 1881 1890 1899 1912 1918 2003 2004 2005 2127 2138 2298 2400 2464 2492 2516 2523 2544 2558 2625 2674 2736 2772 2805.

discussion. Also, given its focus on the manuscripts, themselves, this chapter will be rich with images to illustrate the relevant phenomena being described.

Most of the recent studies that include a discussion of codicological and paleographical features of New Testament manuscripts have focused on single manuscripts, such as David Parker's work on Codex Bezae, Andrew Smith's study of Codex Alexandrinus, and Peter Malik on P<sup>47</sup>.<sup>10</sup> While these single-manuscript investigations are extremely important, this chapter offers a corpus-based approach, going beyond the investigation of individual witnesses and considering instead the prevalence and variation of paratextual features across a group of manuscripts of the same work.<sup>11</sup> The value of this is not simply to underline the way in which the biblical text in these documents have been furnished with paratextual features which shed light on the processes of copying and the way in which these documents were used, but also to consider the different forms and contents of these paratexts. In addition to offering an account of how they differ, I have also tried to explain why this is the case (for example, when stichometric numbers vary or different lectionary sequences appear). This appears to be an area ripe for further study, and I hope that the approach I undertake here may provide the impetus for more detailed and comprehensive examination of these features, perhaps in conjunction with the preparation of the *Editio Critica Maior*.<sup>12</sup>

### **The Euthalian Apparatus**

The first two paratextual features I will discuss are hypotheses and kephalaia lists. In the MSS of 2 Thess, these features almost exclusively appear as part of the Euthalian apparatus, a set of paratextual materials that accompany Acts and all of the epistles in many

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<sup>10</sup> Parker, *Codex Bezae*; W. Andrew Smith, *A Study of the Gospels in Codex Alexandrinus: Codicology, Palaeography, and Scribal Hands* (NTTSD 48; Leiden: Brill, 2014); Peter Malik, *P. Beatty III (P47): The Codex, Its Scribes, and Its Text* (NTTSD 52; Leiden: Brill, 2017).

<sup>11</sup> For a corpus-based approach of codicological features of New Testament papyri see Larry W. Hurtado, *The Earliest Christian Artifacts: Manuscripts and Christian Origins* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006).

<sup>12</sup> Single manuscript studies continue to dominate the topics of doctoral dissertations. I count five of the thirteen doctoral dissertations begun in 2018 or 2019 and listed on the IGNTF website as single manuscript investigations (cf. [www.igntf.org](http://www.igntf.org)).

New Testament manuscripts. These materials can include prologues, lection lists, quotations lists, hypotheses, chapter lists and other miscellaneous items.<sup>13</sup> Not all features occur together or in every manuscript. These paratextual materials can be thought of as “reading aids,” designed to help the reader navigate and interpret scripture. In a sense, they are akin to the cross-referencing systems, footnotes, or short book introductions that occur on the pages of many modern Bibles.

The authorship, date, and original composition of the Euthalian apparatus remain unclear. These paratexts have been associated with a certain “Euthalius” because his name accompanies the materials in some manuscripts, though, alternatively, so does the name “Evagrius.”<sup>14</sup> For the *status quaestionis*, the situation has been summarized most recently by Blomkvist in *Euthalian Traditions*.<sup>15</sup> I will not rehearse the details here. I only note that (1) the authorship is still a matter of debate,<sup>16</sup> (2) scholars believe the first Euthalian edition was most likely published in the second half of the fourth century,<sup>17</sup> and (3) some of the paratextual features which occur in the final form of the Euthalian edition were added later.<sup>18</sup>

### Hypotheses

One of the key paratextual features of the manuscripts examined for this chapter is the hypothesis (ὑπόθεσις) or *argumentum*. A hypothesis is a brief summary of a book’s contents occurring in the manuscript before the main text of the book itself. Forty-five of the seventy-

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<sup>13</sup> For a complete description of the Euthalian materials see Louis Charles Willard, *A Critical Study of the Euthalian Apparatus* (ANTF 41; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2009), 1–6.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Vemund Blomkvist, *Euthalian Traditions: Text, Translation, Commentary* (TUGAL 170; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012), 3. Throughout this chapter I will still refer to the materials as “Euthalian” as is customary.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 8–32.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Blomkvist, *Euthalian Traditions*, 31–32.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Eric W. Scherbenske, *Canonizing Paul: Ancient Editorial Practice and the Corpus Paulinum* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 120–122.

<sup>18</sup> Parker, *New Testament Manuscripts and Their Texts*, 269.

six manuscripts included in my analysis have a hypothesis.<sup>19</sup> All of these manuscripts include the Euthalian version or a hypothesis which appears to be derived from the Euthalian version.<sup>20</sup> One manuscript (1830) includes the hypotheses of both Euthalius and Theodoret. To orient the reader to these materials, I provide below the Greek text and translation of the Euthalian version published by Blomkvist.<sup>21</sup> This is followed by images of the beginning of the Euthalian hypothesis from selected manuscripts.

**Table 5.1: Greek Text and English Translation of the Euthalian Hypothesis**

<b>[Introductory Notice]</b> ταύτην ἐπιστέλλει ἀπὸ Ῥώμης·	<b>[Introductory Notice]</b> This he sends from Rome.
<b>[Prophasis]</b> ἡ δὲ πρόφασις τῆς ἐπιστολῆς αὕτη· τινὲς ἀπὸ Θεσσαλονίκης ἄργοι καὶ ἄτακτοι, περιερχόμενοι, τοὺς ἀδελφούς ὑφήρπαζον, ὡς ἤδη τῆς παρουσίας τοῦ κυρίου ἐνστάσης. ἡπάτων δὲ τοὺς ἀκούοντας, ὡς τοῦ ἀποστόλου τοῦτο δηλοῦντος καὶ ὑπὸ πνεύματος ἀκούσαντες. ταῦτα τοίνυν μαθὼν ὁ ἀπόστολος γράφει τὴν ἐπιστολήν.	<b>[Prophasis]</b> The occasion for the letter is this: Some idle and unruly impostors from Thessalonice were seducing them, saying that the coming was already imminent. They tried to deceive the listeners, telling them that the Apostle had made this known, and that they had heard it from the Spirit. When now the Apostle learns this, he writes the letter.
<b>[Summary]</b> καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἀποδέχεται τὴν πίστιν αὐτῶν αὐξανουσαν, καὶ ὅτι ἐν αὐτοῖς ἔκαυχᾶτο, τὰς θλίψεις γενναίως ὑποφέρουσιν διὰ τὸν Χριστόν· παραμυθεῖται δὲ αὐτοὺς, ὡς ἐπομένης ἐκδικίας παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ κατὰ τῶν αὐτοὺς ἀδικούντων. ἔπειτα περὶ τῆς παρουσίας τοῦ σωτῆρος διδάσκει μηδενὶ αὐτοὺς πείθεσθαι, μηδὲ θροεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς, μήτε διὰ πνεύματος, μήτε ὡς αὐτοῦ γράψαντος, μηδὲ ὅλως νομίζειν ἤδη παρεῖναι αὐτήν· μὴ γὰρ πρότερον ἔσεσθαι αὐτήν, ἐὰν μὴ ἡ ἀποστασία πρῶτον ἔλθῃ, καὶ μετὰ ταύτην ὁ ἀντίχριστος ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας, οὗ τὴν παρουσίαν ἐν σημείοις καὶ τέρασι ψεύδους, κατ' ἐνέργειαν τοῦ Σατανᾶ ἔσεσθαι σημαίνει. εἴτα παραινέσας αὐτοῖς στήκειν	<b>[Summary]</b> And first, he praises their faith for progressing and says that he glories in them, since they in a worthy manner endure persecutions for Christ's sake. And he comforts them, saying that punishment from God will follow upon those who harm them. Then he teaches about the coming of the Savior, that they should not believe anyone, nor be frightened, neither by a spirit, nor by a writing said to come from him; they should not at all believe it is already at hand. For it will not happen unless the defection has come first. And after that, he announces, Antichrist will come, the Son of perdition, whose coming is with signs and false wonders, wrought by the power of Satan. Then, having exhorted them to stand in a worthy manner and to keep the traditions, which

<sup>19</sup> These manuscripts are 6, 35, 38, 61, 88, 142, 203, 218, 256, 425, 436, 459, 506, 517, 630, 915, 999, 1101, 1115, 1127, 1241, 1311, 1352, 1354, 1409, 1448, 1456, 1609, 1729, 1751, 1830, 1845, 1867, 1890, 1899, 1912, 2004, 2298, 2464, 2544, 2558, 2625, 2674, 2736, 2805.

<sup>20</sup> Manuscripts 1354 and 1867 appear to have the same abbreviated hypothesis derived from the Euthalian version. Manuscript 61 has an alternative abbreviated version which also appears to be derivative.

<sup>21</sup> As Blomkvist notes, the Greek text is that of von Soden and the translation is his (Blomkvist, *Euthalian Traditions*, 45, 83–84). I have arranged the material following Blomkvist's outline of introductory notice, prophasis, and summary.

γενναίως, καὶ κρατεῖν τὰς παραδόσεις ἃς ἐδιδάχθησαν παρ' αὐτοῦ, παραγγέλλει μηδεμίαν κοινωνίαν ἔχειν μετὰ τῶν ἀτάκτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποβάλλειν αὐτούς· εἶναι γὰρ καὶ περιέργους καὶ πλάνους ἐδήλωσε τοὺς τοιούτους· καὶ καθόλου δὲ παρήγγειλεν τὸν μὴ ὑπακούοντα τοῖς λόγοις αὐτοῦ, τοῦτον ἀποσυνάγων γίνεσθαι. καὶ λουπὸν ἐπευξάμενος αὐτοῖς εἰρήνην, τελειοῖ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, τὸν ἀσπασμὸν τῇ ἰδίᾳ χειρὶ γράψας, ὅπερ σημεῖον εἶναι πάσης ἐπιστολῆς δεδήλωκεν.

they were taught from him, he orders them not to have any fellowship with the unruly, and even to expel them. For he has shown that such people are meddlesome and seductive. And in general, he ordered that he who did not obey his words should be expelled from the community. And now, having prayed for peace on their behalf, he ends the letter, having written the greeting with his own hand, which he declares to be a sign in every letter.

Figure 5.1: GA 1830. f. 189r

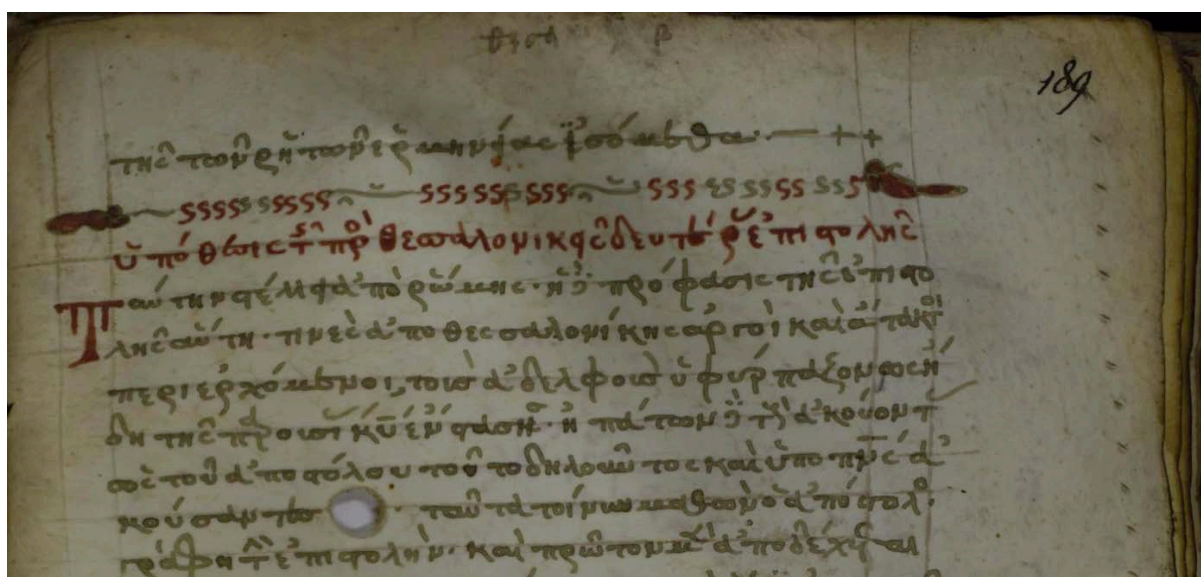


Figure 5.2: GA 203. f. 105r

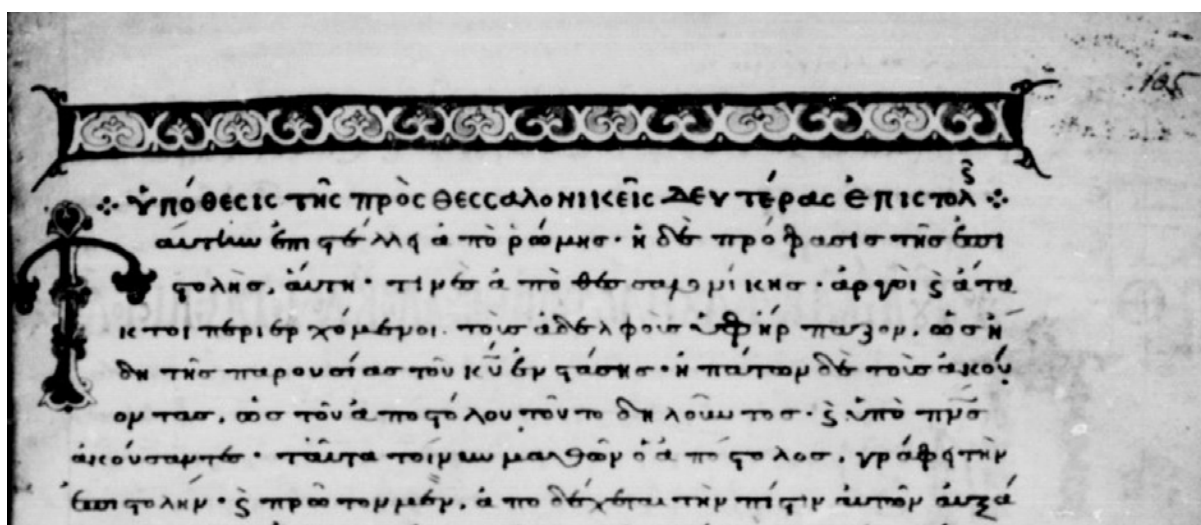
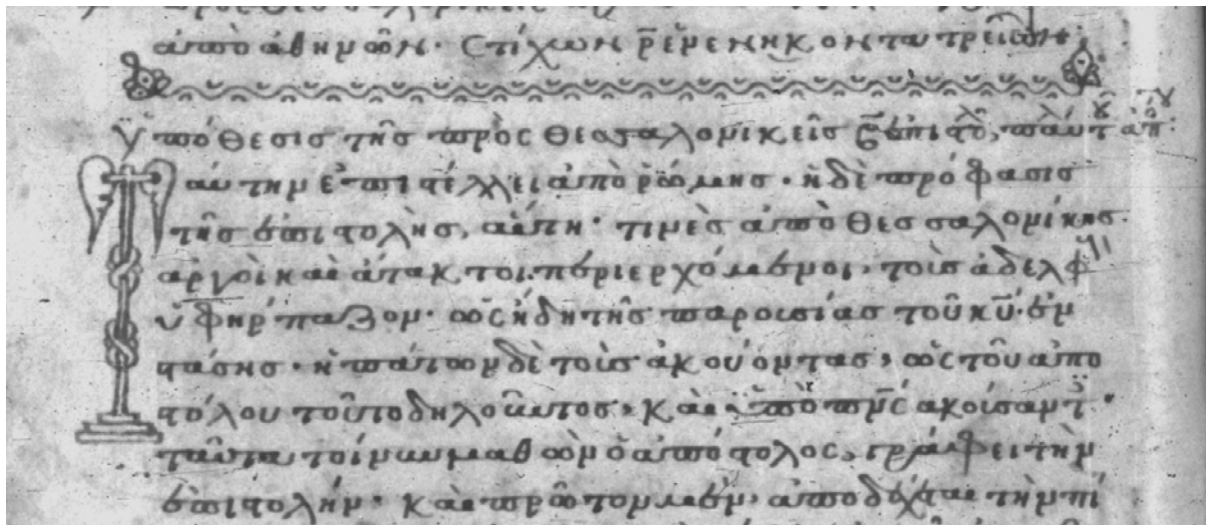


Figure 5.3: GA 425. f. 130v



In each of the images above, I have included the introduction (prophasis) of the Euthalian hypothesis. These images illustrate the typical format: (1) the hypothesis appears at the beginning of the material for 2 Thessalonians; (2) a decorative element separates the hypothesis from the previous book (always 1 Thessalonians); (3) a title appears before the main text of the hypothesis; (4) the first letter of the hypothesis is enlarged or decorated (or both).

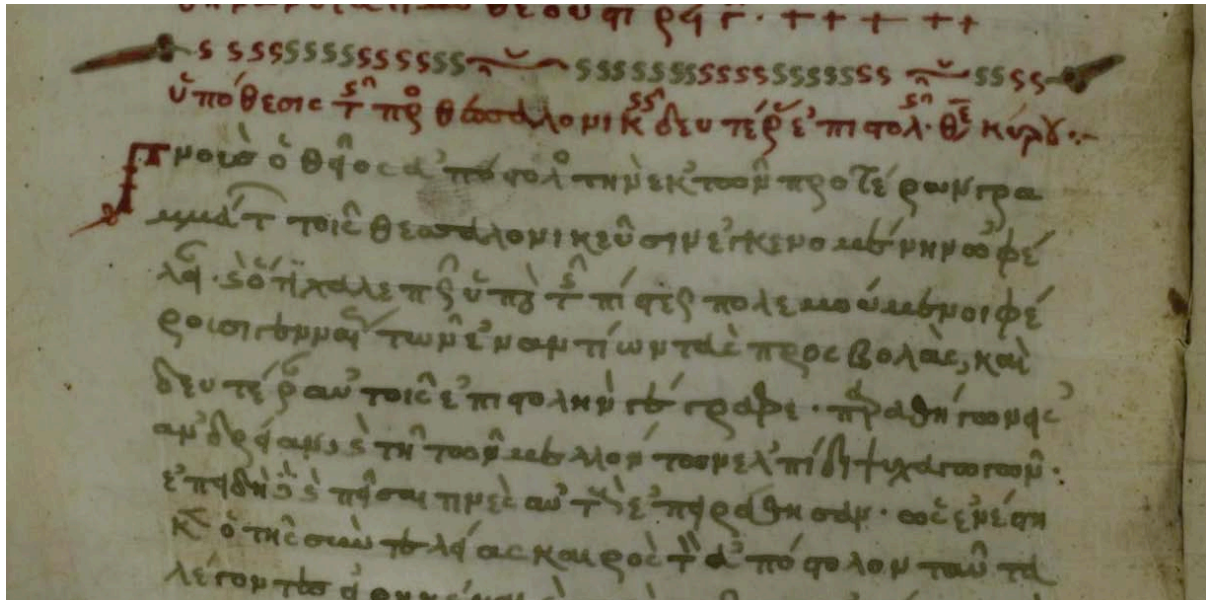
In terms of variety, three manuscripts have only the prophasis without the accompanying summary (namely, manuscripts 38, 218, 1352). Three manuscripts (61, 1354, 1867) have an abbreviated version seemingly derived from the full Euthalian version. The rest have the normal Euthalian hypothesis. As expected, there is also some textual variation among these manuscripts with the standard version—though a cursory examination suggests that it is not substantial.<sup>22</sup> Finally, as already mentioned, manuscript 1830 has the hypothesis of both Euthalius and Theodoret. I reproduce below an image of Theodoret's hypothesis from

<sup>22</sup> This observation is based on looking over the hypotheses during the cataloging phase. I did not transcribe the hypotheses.



1830 along with the Greek text and an English translation. This hypothesis is from Theodoret's commentary on the Pauline Epistles.<sup>23</sup>

**Figure 5.4:** GA 1830. f. 188v



**Table 5.2:** Greek Text and English Translation of Theodoret's Hypothesis

<p>Γνοὺς ὁ θεῖος Ἀπόστολος τὴν ἐκ τῶν προτέρων γραμμάτων τοῖς Θεσσαλονικεῦσιν ἐγγινομένην ὠφέλειαν, καὶ ὅτι χαλεπῶς ὑπὲρ τῆς πίστεως πολεμοῦμενοι φέρουσι γενναίως τῶν ἐναντίων τὰς προσβολὰς, καὶ δευτέραν αὐτοῖς Ἐπιστολὴν γέγραφε, παραθήγων εἰς ἀνδρείαν, καὶ τῇ τῶν μελλόντων ἐλπίδι ψυχαγωγῶν. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ πείσαι τινες αὐτοὺς ἐπειράθησαν, ὡς ἐνέστηκεν ὁ τῆς συντελείας καιρὸς, τὸν Ἀπόστολον ταῦτα λέγοντες εἰρηκέναι· καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐπέστειλε, τὰ προσήκοντα διδάσκων, ὡς δεῖ πρότερον ὀφθῆναι τὸν τῆς ἀληθείας ἐχθρὸν, τὸν Ἀντίχριστον λέγων· εἴθ' οὕτω γίνεσθαι τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἐπιφάνειαν. Παρήνεσε δὲ καὶ τοῖς τὸν ἀργὸν βίον προαιρουμένοις τὰ πρόσφορα. Ἐκάστου δὲ τούτων τὴν διάνοιαν ἐκ τῆς τῶν ῥητῶν ἐρμηνείας εἰσόμεθα.</p>	<p>Knowing the benefit coming from the first letter to the Thessalonians and the fact that despite being subjected to severe assaults for the faith they nobly bore the attacks of the adversaries, the divine apostle wrote a second letter to them as well, urging them to show courage and consoling them with the hope of future goods. Since some people tried to convince them that the time of the consummation was at hand, claiming the apostle said so, he wrote about this as well to make the necessary point that the enemy of truth must first be seen—namely, the Anti-Christ—and then the coming of our God and Savior would take place. He also made useful recommendations to those choosing the life of idleness. We shall grasp the force of each of these point from the commentary on the text.</p>
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In passing, I note that the hypotheses of Theodoret and Euthalius share broad similarities: both ground the purpose of the letter, at least in part, as a response to false eschatological teaching; both also emphasize the Thessalonians' steadfastness amidst persecutions, discuss

<sup>23</sup> The Greek text is from PG 82:657. The English translation is that of Robert C. Hill, *Theodoret of Cyrus: Commentary on the Letters of St. Paul* (vol. 2; Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 2007), 125.

the necessity of the appearance of the Antichrist, and note the apostle's rebuke of those who have been idle. This overlap also aligns with modern summaries of the letter's contents. For instance, Fee outlines the letter as addressing three issues, namely, (1) "the Thessalonian believers' ongoing persecution and suffering," (2) "the coming of the Lord," and (3) "the unruly idle."<sup>24</sup>

I have catalogued above the type and varieties of the hypotheses that occur in the non-commentary, minuscules of 2 Thessalonians included in this thesis: every manuscript with a hypothesis has a Euthalian version; a handful have an abbreviated version; one also has the hypothesis of Theodoret. If the manuscripts in this thesis are at all representative of Pauline manuscripts in general, then it would appear that the Euthalian hypothesis is a frequently occurring paratextual phenomenon, occurring in 45 of 76 of the manuscripts analyzed or 59%.<sup>25</sup> This frequency seems to be confirmed by the research of Willard. In his catalogue of manuscripts with Euthalian material, Willard lists 350 manuscripts with the Euthalian hypothesis. The online version of the *Kurzgefasste Liste* currently lists 720 minuscules containing all or a portion of the Pauline Epistles. It would appear, then, that hypotheses (and particularly the Euthalian hypothesis) are indeed a frequently occurring paratextual feature. My survey above adds eleven more manuscripts not included in Willard's list, namely, manuscripts 256, 1101, 1115, 1127, 1867, 1899, 2558, 2625, 2674, 2736, 2805. This highlights the fact that the paratextual features of many Pauline manuscripts have yet to be fully catalogued. This work still needs to be done, so that more precise figures can be obtained and the frequency and variety of hypotheses can be adequately documented.

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<sup>24</sup> Gordan D. Fee, *The First and Second Letters to the Thessalonians* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 237–246.

<sup>25</sup> Of these examples, the Euthalian hypothesis overwhelmingly dominates, a version of which has been employed in 100% of the instances.



## Kephalaia Lists

The next paratextual feature I will discuss is the kephalaia list. In Classical Greek, κεφάλαιος had as its primary meaning “chief or main point.”<sup>26</sup> Later, it also came frequently to indicate “a section of a written work.”<sup>27</sup> In the Pauline manuscript tradition, kephalaia were the highest level of subdivision, for which the modern equivalent is the chapter. Of course, there were further possible subdivisions in antiquity at the paragraph, sentence, and clause level.<sup>28</sup> There were also different kephalaia systems in existence for the books of the New Testament.<sup>29</sup> For the purposes of this section, I will focus on the Euthalian kephalaia system since it (or a variation thereof) is the only one that occurs in the manuscripts in this thesis.

In the Euthalian apparatus, kephalaia lists, when present, most often appear in the manuscripts before the text of the epistle in question.<sup>30</sup> In my dataset, they always follow the hypothesis, if one is present. These kephalaia lists typically include a number (always beginning with one in my dataset) and a brief description of the kephalaion in question. In many manuscripts, the kephalaia numbers also appear in the margin of the biblical text designating the beginning of each new kephalaion and enabling the reader to cross-reference

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<sup>26</sup> LSJ, s.v. “κεφάλαιος.”

<sup>27</sup> Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, s.v. “κεφάλαιος.” For a very brief history of the use and evolution of kephalaia in antiquity see Günter Zuntz, *The Ancestry of the Harklean New Testament* (British Academy Supplemental Papers VII; London: Oxford University Press, 1945), 79–82.

<sup>28</sup> For an overview of these features see Simon Crisp, “Scribal Marks and Logical Paragraphs: Discourse Segmentation Criteria in Manuscripts of the Pauline Corpus,” *USB Bulletin* 198/199 (2005): 77–87. See also the analysis of sense units of manuscripts for Romans 12 in Bruce Morrill and John Gram, “Parsing Paul: Layout and Sampling Divisions in Pauline Commentaries,” in *Commentaries, Catenae, and Biblical Tradition* (ed. H. A. G. Houghton; Text and Studies 13; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2016), 99–116.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Bruce Metzger, *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible: An Introduction to Greek Paleography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), 40–41; F. H. A. Scrivener, *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament* (vol. 1; 4<sup>th</sup> ed.; New York: George Bell and Sons, 1894), 56–79; Greg Goswell, “An Early Commentary on the Pauline Corpus: The Capitulation of Codex Vaticanus,” *JGRChJ* 8 (2011–2012): 51–82.

<sup>30</sup> Willard does note that “there are, however, a number of variations, in which the lists are collected all together at the beginning of the corpus—Pauline, Catholic, Acts—or spread through a manuscript, in the upper and/or lower margins of the text” (Willard, *Euthalian Apparatus*, 47).

between the lists and the main text with more facility.<sup>31</sup> Twenty-nine of the seventy-six manuscripts (38%) have kephalaia lists in my dataset<sup>32</sup>—thus, kephalaia lists appear to have been less frequent than hypotheses in Pauline manuscripts. This observation is confirmed by Willard’s survey. He counted 171 manuscripts with a “chapter list”—significantly lower than his 350 with a hypothesis. Below, I have reproduced Blomkvist’s edition and his English translation of the kephalaia lists followed by images from manuscript 203.

**Table 5.3: Greek Text and English Translation: Euthalian Kephalaia List of 2 Thess<sup>33</sup>**

Κεφάλαια τῆς πρὸς Θεσσαλονικεῖς δευτέρας ἐπιστολῆς	Chapters of the Second Letter to the Thessalonians
α (1:3) εὐχαριστία ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Θεσσαλονικέων πίστεως, καὶ ἀγάπης καὶ ὑπομονῆς, ἐπὶ τιμῇ αὐτῶν καὶ κολάσει τῶν θλιβόντων· καὶ εὐχὴ ὑπὲρ τελειώσεως αὐτῶν ἐν δόξῃ ἐπὶ δοξῇ Χριστοῦ.	1 (1:3) Thanksgiving for the faith of the Thessalonians, their love and their steadfastness, for the sake of their honor and the punishment of their persecutors. And prayer for their glorious perfection, to the glory of Christ.
β (2:1) περὶ τέλους, ὅτι μετὰ ἀντίχριστον πεμπόμενον ἐπὶ ἐλέγχῳ Ἰουδαίων τῶν ἀπιστησάντων Χριστῷ.	2 (2:1) About the end, that it is after Antichrist, who is sent to convict the Jews who did not believe in Christ.
γ (2:13) εὐχαριστία τῆς κλήσεως, ἐν ᾧ προτροπὴ ἐπιμονῆς εὐχὴ πρὸς θεὸν καὶ Χριστὸν περὶ στεριγμοῦ αὐτῶν.	3 (2:13) Thanksgiving for the call. In this: Encouragement to endure. Prayer to God and Christ for their sustenance.
δ (3:1) παράκλησις εὐχῆς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἔργου, ἐν ᾧ εὐχὴ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν εἰς ἀγάπην Θεοῦ.	4 (3:1) Exhortation to pray for him and his work. In this: Prayer for them to obtain the love of God.
ε (3:6) προτροπὴ ἐργασίας, καὶ παραιτήσεως τῶν ἀργῶν καὶ περιέργων.	5 (3:6) Encouragement to work and to avoid to idle and meddlesome people.
ς (3:16) εὐχὴ περὶ εἰρήνης τῆς παρὰ Θεοῦ.	6 (3:16) Prayer for peace from God.

<sup>31</sup> Twenty manuscripts in my dataset have (at least some) kephalaia numbers in the margin (top, bottom, or side) corresponding with the location in the manuscript where that particular kephalaion begins: 88 104 203 459 506 915 1354 1398 1729 1739 1830 1845 1867 1912 2004 2298 2464 2544 2558 2625.

<sup>32</sup> Namely, 88, 104, 131, 203, 218, 256, 330, 425, 436, 451, 459, 506, 517, 915, 1127, 1311, 1352, 1409, 1448, 1729, 1751, 1830, 1845, 1867, 1912, 2005, 2298, 2558, 2625.

<sup>33</sup> Blomkvist, *Euthalian Traditions*, 54.

Figure 5.5: GA 203. f. 105r

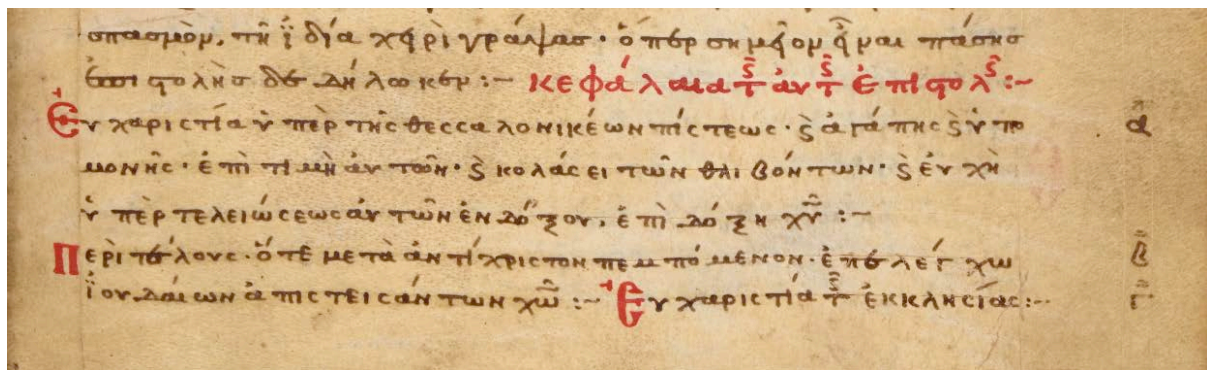
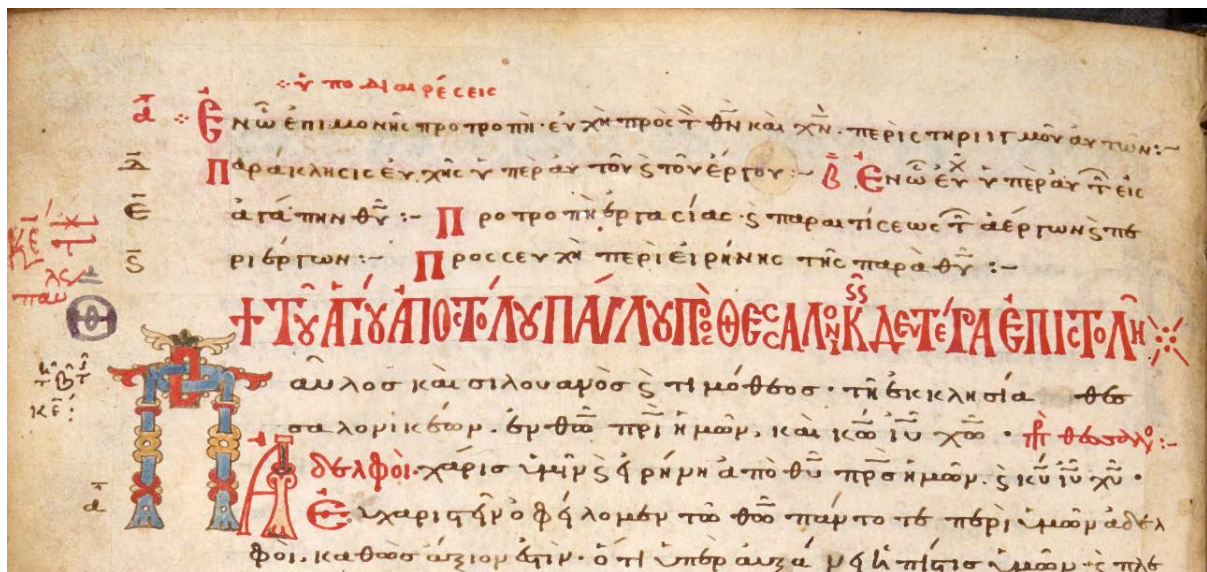


Figure 5.6: GA 203. f. 105v



The select images from manuscript 203 provide a nice example of the Euthalian kephalaia list. As often occurs in the manuscripts, the introduction to the kephalaia list and the first letter of each kephalaion description has been rubricated. In the margin, each kephalaion has been numbered successively (α, β, γ, δ, ε, ζ) and correspond to the rubricated initials on the same line. Near the bottom of the left side of figure 5.6, one can also observe an α in the margin, which indicates the location where that particular kephalaion begins in the main text. Also of note at the top of figure 5.6 is an asterisk, after which a scribe has written “ὕποδιαρέσεις.” The term, ὑποδιαρέσεις, means “subdivision”<sup>34</sup> and, in relation to the Euthalian kephalaia was used to designate subsections within a kephalaion. In this

<sup>34</sup> Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, s.v. “ὕποδιαρέσεις.”

instance, two subsections are designated: one for the third kephalaion (γ) notated with (α) and one for the fourth kephalaion (δ) notated with (β). In contrast with the numerals for the kephalaia, the numerals for the subsections have been rubricated.

Three of the manuscripts (104, 1845, 1912) in my dataset include an explanatory note that directly follows the introduction of the kephalaia and explicitly mentions the subsections and the rubrication. The note reads: ἐχόντων τινῶν καὶ μερικὰς ὑποδιαίρέσεις τὰς διὰ τοῦ κινναβάρεως (“some [i.e., of the kephalaia] also have subsections in red ink”).<sup>35</sup> An additional two manuscripts (1912, 2298) note merely the subsections repeating the same formula above, but leaving off “τὰς διὰ τοῦ κινναβάρεως.” There is some debate in the secondary literature as to who should be credited with introducing rubrication to distinguish the subdivisions.<sup>36</sup>

As for the numeration itself, there is much variation in the manuscripts. Nineteen of the twenty-nine manuscripts with a kephalaia list have a coherent numeration system<sup>37</sup> and I count nine different numbering systems across these nineteen manuscripts. I have listed the different systems below with their numeration. To distinguish between chapters (kephalaia) and subdivisions (ὑποδιαίρέσεις), following Robinson,<sup>38</sup> I have used capital Greek letters for the former and lower case for the latter.

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<sup>35</sup> Though this explanatory note is not included in Willard’s edition of the Euthalian material for 2 Thessalonians, elsewhere he states that “in the prefatory remarks at the head of some lists of chapters, there was a note as to the presence of subdivisions in the chapters that followed, including the remark that such subdivisions were marked in red” (Willard, *Euthalian Apparatus*, 51). It is included in Migne’s edition (PG 85.771).

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Willard, *Euthalian Apparatus*, 52–53.

<sup>37</sup> Several manuscripts (218, 425, 436, 1127, 1352, 1448) include the kephalaia lists but without the numbers. There are also manuscripts which are lacunose or appear to have incoherent systems: in one manuscript (2005) the numbers are illegible; the scribe of one manuscript (1830) seems to have mistakenly used only four numbers in the list, though seven occur in the margin of the manuscript; one manuscript (2625) numbers only seven of the eight sections. Finally, one manuscript (1867) seems to have only five numbered sections, but these occur in the margin of the main text; the page where the list would have occurred is missing.

<sup>38</sup> J. Armitage Robinson, *Euthaliana: Studies of Euthalius, Codex H of the Pauline Epistles, and the Armenian Version* (Text and Studies 3; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1895), 20–26.

**Table 5.4: Numeration of Euthalian Kephalaia**<sup>39</sup>

Number of Sections	Numeration	Number of MSS (Total 19)
6	A B Γ Δ E ζ	2
7	A B Γ Δ E ζ Z	1
8a	A B Γ α Δ β E ζ	3
8b	A B Γ α Δ α E ζ	6
8c	A B Γ β Δ α E ζ	1
8d	A B Γ Δ E ζ Z H	1
8e	A B Γ Δ α E α ζ	1
9a	A B Γ Δ E ζ Z H Θ	3
9b	A B Γ α β Δ α E ζ	1

Such variety in numeration led Robinson to postulate that the subsections were not numbered in the *editio princeps* of the Euthaliana, but were originally indicated with an asterisk. This is the case in some of the manuscripts he examined in his *Euthaliana: Studies of Euthalius, Codex H of the Pauline Epistles, and the Armenian Version*. He states:

So remarkable a variety in methods of numeration is perhaps most easily explained if we regard the asterisks as the original marks of the subdivision: and this view is supported by the frequent dropping of subdivisions altogether. . . . it is obvious that an asterisk was far more likely to be dropped, and far less likely to be afterwards replaced, than one of the numbers of a series.<sup>40</sup>

Asterisks are not used to indicate the subsections in the manuscripts in my dataset. There are two examples where the subsections (= ὑποδιαίρεσεις) are not indicated at all, namely, in manuscripts 131 and 1751. There are also two manuscripts (425 and 436) where numeration is not used but the different sections of the chapter list—whether chapter or subsection—are indicated by the capitalization of the first letter. In these cases, there is no way to distinguish between chapter and subdivision.

<sup>39</sup> The manuscripts associated with each group in table 5.4 are as follows: 6 = 131, 1751; 7 = 2558; 8a = 104, 203, 506; 8b = 88, 459, 915, 1845, 1912, 2298; 8c = 256; 8d = 1409; 8e = 1729; 9a = 330, 451, 1311; 9b = 517.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 24.

There is also some variety in terms of where the text of the chapter and subsection descriptions are divided in the manuscripts.<sup>41</sup> Three manuscripts (131, 1448, 1751) use the traditional division of six sections (without subsections) as laid out above in Blomkvist's edition. There are also two manuscripts with five divisions (1867, 2005) and one with seven (2558). Most of the manuscripts use either eight or nine divisions as can be seen in the numeration table above (Table 5.4). Below, I have listed the three options that occur with either eight or nine divisions.

**Table 5.5: Variation in the Division of the Text of the Kephalaia Descriptions**

8a (10 MSS) <sup>42</sup>	8b (4 MSS) <sup>43</sup>	9 (5 MSS) <sup>44</sup>
εὐχαριστία ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Θεσσαλονικέων πίστεως, καὶ ἀγάπης καὶ ὑπομονῆς, ἐπὶ τιμῇ αὐτῶν καὶ κολάσει τῶν θλιβόντων· καὶ εὐχὴ ὑπὲρ τελειώσεως αὐτῶν ἐν δόξῃ ἐπὶ δοξῇ Χριστοῦ.	εὐχαριστία ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Θεσσαλονικέων πίστεως, καὶ ἀγάπης καὶ ὑπομονῆς, ἐπὶ τιμῇ αὐτῶν καὶ κολάσει τῶν θλιβόντων· καὶ εὐχὴ ὑπὲρ τελειώσεως αὐτῶν ἐν δόξῃ ἐπὶ δοξῇ Χριστοῦ.	εὐχαριστία ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Θεσσαλονικέων πίστεως, καὶ ἀγάπης καὶ ὑπομονῆς, ἐπὶ τιμῇ αὐτῶν καὶ κολάσει τῶν θλιβόντων· καὶ εὐχὴ ὑπὲρ τελειώσεως αὐτῶν ἐν δόξῃ ἐπὶ δοξῇ Χριστοῦ.
περὶ τέλους, ὅτι μετὰ ἀντίχριστον πεμπόμενον ἐπὶ ἐλέγχῳ Ἰουδαίων τῶν ἀπιστησάντων Χριστῷ.	περὶ τέλους, ὅτι μετὰ ἀντίχριστον πεμπόμενον ἐπὶ ἐλέγχῳ Ἰουδαίων τῶν ἀπιστησάντων Χριστῷ.	περὶ τέλους, ὅτι μετὰ ἀντίχριστον πεμπόμενον ἐπὶ ἐλέγχῳ Ἰουδαίων τῶν ἀπιστησάντων Χριστῷ.
εὐχαριστία τῆς κλήσεως,	εὐχαριστία τῆς κλήσεως, ἐν ᾧ προτροπὴ ἐπιμονῆς	εὐχαριστία τῆς κλήσεως,
ἐν ᾧ προτροπὴ ἐπιμονῆς εὐχὴ πρὸς θεὸν καὶ Χριστὸν περὶ στεριγμοῦ αὐτῶν.	εὐχὴ πρὸς θεὸν καὶ Χριστὸν περὶ στεριγμοῦ αὐτῶν.	ἐν ᾧ προτροπὴ ἐπιμονῆς
		εὐχὴ πρὸς θεὸν καὶ Χριστὸν περὶ στεριγμοῦ αὐτῶν.
παράκλησις εὐχῆς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἔργου,	παράκλησις εὐχῆς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἔργου,	παράκλησις εὐχῆς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἔργου,
ἐν ᾧ εὐχὴ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν εἰς ἀγάπην Θεοῦ.	ἐν ᾧ εὐχὴ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν εἰς ἀγάπην Θεοῦ.	ἐν ᾧ εὐχὴ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν εἰς ἀγάπην Θεοῦ.
προτροπὴ ἐργασίας, καὶ παραιτήσεως τῶν ἀργῶν καὶ περιέργων.	προτροπὴ ἐργασίας, καὶ παραιτήσεως τῶν ἀργῶν καὶ περιέργων.	προτροπὴ ἐργασίας, καὶ παραιτήσεως τῶν ἀργῶν καὶ περιέργων.
εὐχὴ περὶ εἰρήνης τῆς παρὰ Θεοῦ.	εὐχὴ περὶ εἰρήνης τῆς παρὰ Θεοῦ.	εὐχὴ περὶ εἰρήνης τῆς παρὰ Θεοῦ.

<sup>41</sup> Manuscript 2772 is missing the folios which would have included the kephalaia list—which appears for other books in this manuscript. Manuscript 1830 has four divisions in the kephalaia list and seven in the main text.

<sup>42</sup> Namely, GA 88, 104, 203, 459, 506, 915, 1729, 1845, 1912, 2298.

<sup>43</sup> GA 256, 436, 1409, 2625.

<sup>44</sup> GA 330, 425, 451, 517, 1311.

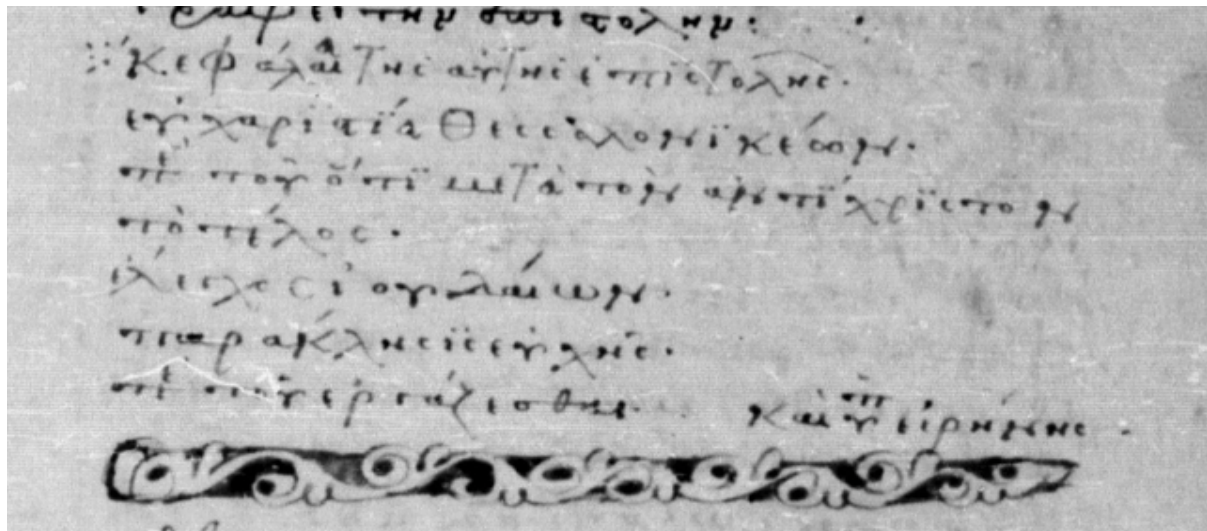
Of note for the different segmentations above is the fact that all of the variation occurs in the third through fifth rows. As can be confirmed in Table 5.4, this is where the initial ὑποδιαίρέσεις occur. Thus, again, differing editorial decisions on how to handle the subsections appears to be the cause of the variation.

Also of note is the occurrence of three manuscripts whose six divisions employ an abbreviated description of each kephalaion. In my corpus of manuscripts, these comprise 218, 1127, and 1352. Below, I have included the text of 218 with a collation<sup>45</sup> of these manuscripts along with an image of manuscript 218.

**Table 5.6: Abbreviated Kephalaia Descriptions in GA 218, 1127, and 1352**

1 εὐχαριστία θεσσαλονικέων
2 περὶ τοῦ ὅτι μετὰ τὸν ἀντίχριστον τὸ τέλος
3 ἔλεγχος Ἰουδαίων
4 παράκλησις εὐχῆς
5 περὶ τοῦ ἐργάζεσθαι
6 καὶ περὶ εἰρήνης

**Figure 5.7: GA 218. f. 605r**



The sections above mostly correspond to the six main chapters in Blomkvist's edition, though the second chapter has been divided into two sections and the third chapter has been dropped.

<sup>45</sup> 1 Θεσσαλονικέων ] αὐτῶν 1127  
 2 τον ] om 1127  
 το τέλος ] ἐστὶ το τέλος 1127  
 6 καὶ ] om 1127  
 περὶ ] ὑπερ 1352

The shared vocabulary and divisional overlap suggest that these shorter kephalaia lists are derivative from the Euthalian edition.

To recap, kephalaia lists are relatively frequent in minuscule manuscripts, though less so than hypotheses. Additionally, much variation occurs for the kephalaia lists in terms of the numeration and the segmentation of the chapter descriptions but comparatively little, it seems, for the text. This variation is most likely the result of differing editorial decisions on whether or how to divide and numerate the subsections. The current best explanation for this editorial variation, in my opinion, is the hypothesis put forward by Robinson, namely, that the subsections were originally marked with an asterisk and not numbered. This would account for why some editors left out the subsections altogether<sup>46</sup> and why other editors chose to number the subsections. Finally, this section identified seven manuscripts (104, 256, 1127, 1867, 2005, 2558, 2625) with kephalaia lists not included in Willard's survey.

### Stichometry

I will now turn to discuss the stichometric notation of the manuscripts—another paratextual feature. As a part of the copying process, scribes sometimes notated the number of *stichoi* in a literary work. A *stichos* (στίχος) was the average length of a Greek hexameter, that is, 16 syllables or approximately 36 letters.<sup>47</sup> Thus, a literary work could be measured by the number of *stichoi* it contained. Metzger has summarized the benefits of counting *stichoi*:

The number of στίχοι served (a) to show the length of a treatise or book, (b) to provide a standard for payment to the scribe and the pricing of the book, (c) to guard against later interpretations and excisions, and (d) to permit, through the general notation in the margin of the στίχοι by fifties, the general location of citations.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> I agree with Robinson's suggestion that it would have been easier to overlook an asterisk than a number in a series.

<sup>47</sup> For more on stichometry see J. Rendel Harris, *Stichometry* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1893); Kurt Ohly, *Stichometrische Untersuchungen* (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1928); *Brill's New Pauly*, s.v. "Stichometry."

<sup>48</sup> Metzger, *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible*, 38–39.



In 32 of the 76 manuscripts included in my analysis, the number of stichoi has been indicated at the end of the manuscript.<sup>49</sup> Below, I have provided an example of this type of notation from manuscript 203.

**Figure 5.8: GA 203. f. 106v**



In the image above, the end of 2 Thessalonians can be viewed with its subscription in red ink, followed by the hypothesis for 1 Timothy. In the left-hand margin the scribe has written στιχ(οι) ρς. Thus, 2 Thessalonians measured 106 *stichoi*. This was in fact the traditional stichometric measurement given for 2 Thessalonians and the amount associated with the Euthalian apparatus.<sup>50</sup> For 28 of the 30 manuscripts with a stichometric notation in 2 Thessalonians, 106 *stichoi* is the amount indicated.<sup>51</sup>

In terms of variation, one manuscript (459) lists both 106 and 112 *stichoi*, while two others (namely, 88 and 915) list 116 *stichoi*. Below, I have included an image of manuscript 459 with its two dual stichometric notation.

<sup>49</sup> Some manuscripts also count and list the *stichoi* for the hypothesis. I have not tracked these manuscripts.

<sup>50</sup> Like much of the Euthalian material, when and by whom the stichometric data was included in the Euthalian apparatus is unclear; see Willard's excursus "Stichometry" in his *Euthalian Apparatus*, 137–143.

<sup>51</sup> Two MSS include stichometry but are lacunose in 2 Thess; namely, GA 2558 and 2625.

δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τῇ πόλει αὐτῇ τὴν εἰρήνην  
διαπορεύσασθαι· οὕτως ἐστὶν  
πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν τῆς πόλεως  
καὶ τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς.  
οὗτοί τε πάντες ἐξ ὑμῶν·  
ἐκ τούτου ἐπιδράμετε·

ΤΙ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΗ Β' ΕΓΡΑΦΗ ΑΥΤΗ ΠΟΛΙΣ ΑΘΗΝΩΝ ΕΚ ΤΗΣ  
ΕΞΟΥΣΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΣΙΛΩΝΑΝ ΔΕ ΣΤΙΜΟΝ· ΕΝ ΤΗ ΡΩΜΗ  
ΡΙΒ:-

The variation of manuscripts 88 and 915 is less easily explained. Both manuscripts list 116 *stichoi* for 2 Thessalonians, a noteworthy increase from the traditional measurement. If we compare the nearby epistles, manuscripts 88 and 915 have the traditional stichometric

<sup>53</sup> Harris lists the following *stichoi* for those epistles: Philippians 218 and 208; Colossians 215 and 208; 1 Thessalonians 202 and 193; 1 Timothy 239 and 230 (idid., 39–40). Manuscript 459 has the following figures: Philippians 217 and 208; Colossians 214 and 208; 1 Thessalonians 202 and 193; 1 Timothy 238 and 230.

counts for Ephesians, Philippians, and 1 Timothy.<sup>54</sup> However, for 1 Thessalonians, both manuscripts list 200 *stichoi*—more than the traditional amount (193), but less than Harris’ unabbreviated calculations (202). For Hebrews, both manuscripts list 850 *stichoi*, significantly more than either the traditional amount (703) or Harris’ unabbreviated calculations (714).<sup>55</sup> For the Thessalonian epistles, there does not appear to be a readily available explanation for these different stichometric amounts. The difference between 106 (ρς) and 116 (ρις) is only one letter in Greek, so a transcriptional error is possible. “Corruption” of the stichometric amounts was not uncommon and Harris notes that sometimes impossible figures are given which appear to have no other explanation than transcriptional error.<sup>56</sup> In another publication, Harris also notes that “there is, however, a good deal of variation in the unit employed in the measurement, difference in versions measured, and difference in the abbreviations employed.”<sup>57</sup> So, perhaps such stichometric variation is not that surprising. As for the number of *stichoi* listed for Hebrews, an explanation is at hand. Codex Claromontanus includes a stichometric list in Latin placed between Philemon and Hebrews. In this list, after Jude but before Revelation, the Epistle of Barnabas is listed and reported to have 850 *stichoi*. Some scholars<sup>58</sup> have attributed this as a reference to Hebrews since (1) Tertullian and perhaps others attributed the authorship of

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<sup>54</sup> For manuscript 88, it is difficult to tell what the scribe wrote for Colossians. Manuscript 915 appears to be missing a stichometric notation for 2 Timothy. Manuscript 88 has the traditional count for 2 Timothy (172) while manuscript 915 has the traditional count for Colossians (208).

<sup>55</sup> These two manuscripts have a close genealogical relationship having a pregenealogical coherence of 97.98% and 9 agreements in variation, so their agreement with regard to *stichoi* is not surprising. For a definition of “pregenealogical coherence” and “agreements in variation” see Chapter 4 (“A Textual History of 2 Thessalonians”).

<sup>56</sup> Harris, *Stichometry*, 42–43.

<sup>57</sup> J. R. Harris, “Stichometry,” *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge* 11:93.

<sup>58</sup> See Andry’s list of scholars who adopt this position (Carl Franklin Andry, “‘Barnabae Epist. Ver. DCCL,’” *JBL* 70 [1951], 233–238).

Hebrews to Barnabas;<sup>59</sup> (2) the apocryphal Epistle of Barnabas does not actually occur in Codex Claromontanus, though Hebrews does; (3) the actual apocryphal Epistle of Barnabas was significantly longer than 850 *stichoi*.<sup>60</sup> With this additional evidence from manuscripts 88 and 915, we now have likely *independent* confirmation that 850 *stichoi* were associated with Hebrews in antiquity, which perhaps buttresses the argument that the reference to the Epistle of Barnabas in Codex Claromontanus should be interpreted likewise.<sup>61</sup> Though this observation of *stichoi* for Hebrews is tangential to the present study of 2 Thessalonians, it is nevertheless worth highlighting given its potential import for interpreting the stichometry catalogue in Codex Claromontanus.

In sum, 42% of the manuscripts examined (32 of 76) include a stichometric notation. Most use the traditional number of *stichoi* associated with 2 Thessalonians though some variation occurs. Like so many other features of minuscule manuscripts, the number of *stichoi* notated in the manuscripts has not been extensively catalogued anywhere. We have therefore yet another feature of Greek minuscule manuscripts in need of more scholarly attention.

### Book Order

The next feature I will examine has also not received extensive attention in the secondary literature for most minuscule manuscripts. The books of the New Testament were transmitted in different sequences in antiquity.<sup>62</sup> These variations have been catalogued, especially for the earliest manuscripts and for the relevant canon lists.<sup>63</sup> Among the catalogued variations,

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<sup>59</sup> Cf. E. A. de Boer, “Tertullian on ‘Barnabas’ Letter to the Hebrews’ in De pudicitia 20.1-5,” *VC* 68 (2014), 243–263.

<sup>60</sup> However, see Andry’s counter arguments (“‘Barnabae Epist. Ver. DCCL,’” 235–237).

<sup>61</sup> In their subscriptions, 88 and 915 attribute the authorship of Hebrews to Paul.

<sup>62</sup> For an overview of this phenomenon for the Pauline Epistles see Parker, *New Testament Manuscripts and Their Texts*, 251–256.

the Thessalonian epistles, which are always grouped together, are relatively stable. They almost always<sup>64</sup> occur at the end of the epistles addressed to churches but before the epistles addressed to individuals (i.e., the Pastorals and Philemon)—after Colossians but before 1 Timothy, the order of the New Testament canon in most modern English Bibles as well as the Nestle-Aland text. According to Frede, this latter arrangement “ist bezeugt durch die große Mehrheit der griechischen Handschriften.”<sup>65</sup> The most frequently occurring variation from the traditional order among minuscule manuscripts is the placement of Hebrews after 2 Thessalonians rather than after Philemon. Hatch reports that this arrangement occurs “in nine uncial manuscripts and at least sixty minuscule codices.”<sup>66</sup>

What then is the arrangement for the manuscripts in my dataset? Of the 76 manuscripts included, 54 place 1 Timothy after 2 Thessalonians, 21 place Hebrews after 2 Thessalonians, and one manuscript (1241) places the Thessalonian correspondence after Galatians.<sup>67</sup> Of the 21 manuscripts with the 2 Thess-Hebrews arrangement, a third (n=7) are not recorded by Hatch.<sup>68</sup> Perhaps more interesting is the fact that 28% of the manuscripts examined have the 2 Thess-Hebrews arrangement—significantly more than Hatch’s ratio of 60 versus the majority of Greek minuscules. Of course, I have intentionally included manuscripts which deviate from the majority of minuscules, (at least in regard to their text), so the higher frequency of deviation of book order could be explicable on these grounds. This suspicion is perhaps confirmed by that fact that Morrill and Gram recently only found 42 of the 462

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<sup>63</sup> The most extensive presentation of the various orders appears to be that of H. J. Frede, *Epistulae ad Philippenses et ad Colossenses* (VL 24/2; Frieberg: Herder, 1966), 290–303.

<sup>64</sup> See Frede for the few exceptions (*ibid.*).

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 294.

<sup>66</sup> W. H. P. Hatch, “The Position of Hebrews in the Canon of the New Testament,” *HTR* 29 (1936), 136.

<sup>67</sup> The sequence of the Pauline Epistles in 1241 is: 1-2 Cor, Gal, 1-2 Thess, 1-2 Tim, Titus, Phm, Heb, Rom, Eph, Php, Col (cf. Morrill and Gram, “Parsing Paul,” 101).

<sup>68</sup> These include manuscripts 81, 915, 1729, 1739, 2127, 2464, and 2544.

manuscripts they investigated to contain the 2 Thess-Hebrews arrangement—that is, about 10%, much closer to Hatch’s ratio than mine.<sup>69</sup> Nevertheless, it highlights yet again the need for non-textual features to be catalogued fully. Given that the biblical content of manuscript pages is being indexed at the NTVMR, such an investigation would not only be worthwhile but is now much more feasible.

### Lection Identifiers

The final paratextual feature I will examine in this chapter is the lection identifier. Many New Testament manuscripts have written in their margins the dates of when specific sections of scripture should be read during the liturgical year.<sup>70</sup> The presence of such identifiers purportedly enabled the users of such manuscripts, firstly, to read the text (publicly or privately) according to the liturgical calendar without having to refer to an actual lectionary manuscript and, secondly, to produce a lectionary manuscript from a continuous-text manuscript with such notations.<sup>71</sup> These marginal notations align with one of the two possible Byzantine sequences for the liturgical year: (1) the synaxarion, which follows the moveable church calendar beginning with Easter (whose date fluctuates) or (2) the menologion, which lists the lessons for the celebratory days and feasts following the fixed civil calendar beginning with September 1 and ending on August 31.<sup>72</sup> Synaxarion lection identifiers—the only sequence relevant for 2 Thessalonians—note the day and week on which a particular section of scripture should be read. For instance, 2 Thess 1:10–2:2, according to the

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<sup>69</sup> Morrill and Gram, “Parsing Paul,” 101.

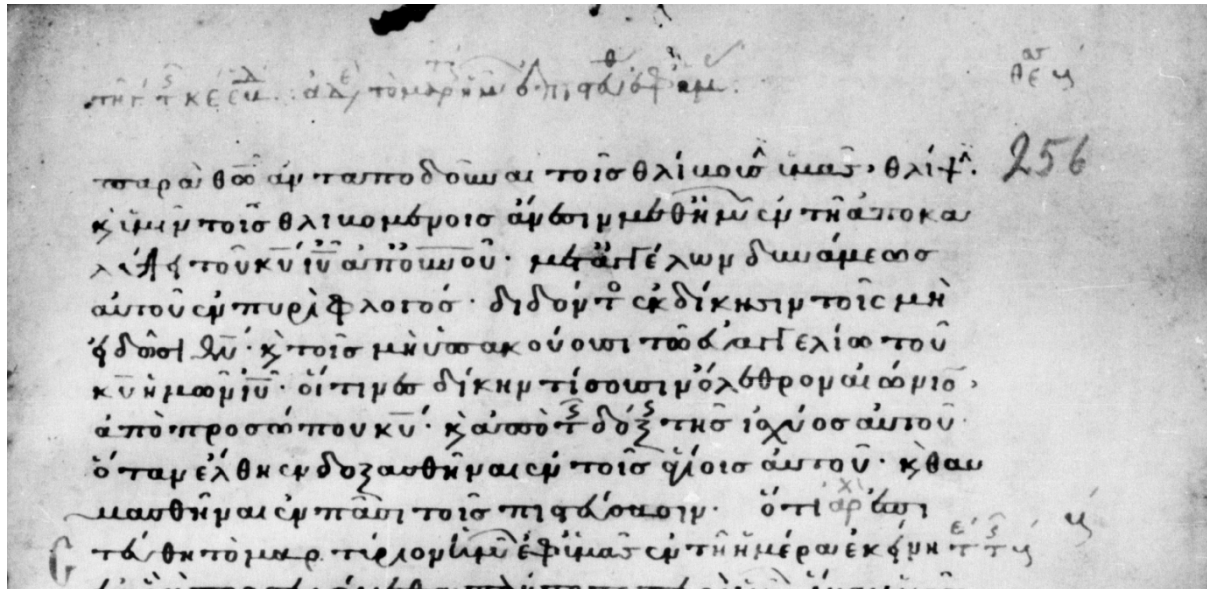
<sup>70</sup> In addition to the list included in this chapter for my dataset, see also the list of manuscripts with lection identifiers in Samuel J. Gibson, *The Apostolos: The Acts and Epistles in Byzantine Liturgical Manuscripts* (Text and Studies 18; Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2018), 11–14.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, 10; William J. Elliott, “How to Change a Continuous Text Manuscript into a Lectionary Text,” in *Text and Traditions: Essays in Honour of J. Keith Elliott* (NTTSD 47; ed. Peter Doble and Jeffrey Kloha; Leiden: Brill, 2014), 370.

<sup>72</sup> For an overview of the liturgical system and lectionary manuscripts see Carroll Osburn, “The Greek Lectionaries of the New Testament,” in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research* (ed. Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes; NTTSD 42; 2d. ed.; Leiden: Brill, 2013), 93–113.

traditional Byzantine calendar, is to be read on “τῇ γ τῆς κε εβδομάδος,” that is, “on the third [day = Tuesday] of the twenty-fifth week [after Pentecost].” Below I have provided an example of such a notation from manuscript 1609.

*Figure 5.10: GA 1609. f. 256r*



In the image above, the lection identifier can be viewed at the top of the page: τῇ γ τῆς κε εβδο(μάδος) (“on the third [day] of the twenty-fifth week”). This is followed by ἀδελ(φοί), the typical introduction for a lectionary reading from the Epistles, and then the beginning of the lection from 2 Thess 1:10: τὸ μαρτύριον ἐπιστεύθη ἡμῶν. Near the bottom-right portion of the image, ἀρχ(ῇ) and τέ(λος) can also be viewed indicating the beginning of the second lection in 2 Thessalonians and the end of the first.

In my dataset, 30 of 76 manuscripts (39%) have lection identifiers in their margin. Gibson found 84 of his sample of 180 minuscule manuscripts (47%) to have lection identifiers. These results suggest that lection identifiers are a relatively frequent phenomenon in minuscule manuscripts.



According to the traditional Byzantine liturgical calendar, five readings were taken from 2 Thessalonians to be read during days two through six of the twenty-fifth week after Pentecost.<sup>73</sup>

**Table 5.7: Traditional Byzantine Lectionary Schedule for 2 Thessalonians**

Greek Lection Identifier	Calendar Placement	Section of Scripture
τη β της κε εβδομαδος	Monday of the 25th week	2 Thess 1:1–10
τη γ της κε εβδομαδος	Tuesday of the 25th week	2 Thess 1:10b–2:2
τη δ της κε εβδομαδος	Wednesday of the 25th week	2 Thess 2:1–12
τη ε της κε εβδομαδος	Thursday of the 25th week	2 Thess 2:13–3:5
τη ς της κε εβδομαδος	Friday of the 25th week	2 Thess 3:6–18

Of the 30 manuscripts with lection identifiers in my dataset, 26 exhibit the traditional system outlined above. The remaining four place 2 Thessalonians a little later in the liturgical year and three include an extra lection. These manuscripts are 330, 384, 451, and 915. Below, I have provided a table showing the divergences of these manuscripts in comparison with the standard calendar. For each manuscript in the table below, I list the week after Pentecost in which the lections occurs, the day of the week it occurs, and its initial lection boundary. The order is thus: week: day / scripture.

**Table 5.8: Alternative Lectionary Schedules for Manuscripts of 2 Thessalonians**

System / MSS	Lection 1	Lection 2	Lection 3	Lection 4	Lection 5	Lection 6
Tradition System	κε:β / 1:1	κε:γ / 1:10b	κε:δ / 2:1	κε:ε / 2:13	κε:ς / 3:6	
330	λγ:δ / 1:3	λγ:ε / 1:6	λγ:ς / 1:11	λδ:β / 2:15	λδ:γ / 3:3	λδ:δ / 3:10
451	λγ:δ / 1:3	λγ:ε / 1:6	λγ:ς / 1:11	λδ:β / 2:15	λδ:γ / 3:3	λδ:δ / 3:10
384	λγ:ς / 1:1	λδ:β / 1:11	λδ:γ / 2:3	λδ:δ / 2:13	λδ:ε / 3:3	λδ:ς / 3:10
915	λγ:ε / 1:1	λγ:ς / 1:11	λδ:β / 2:13	λδ:γ / 3:6?	λδ:δ / 3:13	

Each of the manuscripts in Table 5.8 have 2 Thessalonians later in the liturgical year, each has at least one initial boundary marker differing from the traditional system, and three have an additional lection. Looking beyond just the manuscripts in my dataset, I was able to identify three other manuscripts which share similar systems, two of which are actual

<sup>73</sup> See the synaxarion lists in C. R. Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments* (vol. 1; Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1900), 355; I. M. de Vries, *The Epistles, Gospels and Tones of the Liturgical Year* (Easter Churches Quarterly Reprint 3. Exeter: Catholic Records Press, 1954), 24.



lectionaries (L156 and L170) and one which is a continuous-text minuscule (manuscript 43).<sup>74</sup> I display their results for 2 Thessalonians below.

**Table 5.9: Additional MSS with Alternative Lectionary Schedules and Readings**

MSS	Lection 1	Lection 2	Lection 3	Lection 4	Lection 5	Lection 6
43	λγ:ε / 1:1	λγ:ζ / 1:11	λδ:β / 2:15	λδ:γ / 3:3	λδ:δ / 3:10	
L156	λγ:ε / 1:1	λγ:ζ / 1:11	λδ:β / 2:13	λδ:γ / 3:3	λδ:δ / 3:10	
L170	λγ:ε / 1:1	λγ:ζ / 1:11	λδ:β / 2:13	λδ:γ / 3:3	λγ:δ / 3:10	

This brings the total number of witnesses with divergent systems to seven. Though the exact dates and initial boundaries of the lections vary somewhat, all of the manuscripts locate 2 Thessalonians later in the year between the thirty-third and thirty-fourth week after Pentecost. Can any explanation be offered for this phenomenon? Interestingly, the schedule of the daily readings for the epistles laid out by Scrivener aligns closely with the readings in Table 5.9 and, specifically, with L170. In fact, Scrivener appears to have taken his weekday lessons for the epistles directly from L170 (= B-C. III. 24. in Scrivener).<sup>75</sup> When Scrivener’s

<sup>74</sup> I am indebted to Samuel Gibson for his help in identifying L156 and minuscule 43. He alerted me to the fact that L156 had an alternate lectionary system and also suggested cross-referencing the manuscripts he had indexed with lection identifiers with the manuscripts indexed with 2 Thessalonians on the NTVMR. This led to the discovery of minuscule 43.

<sup>75</sup> Scrivener provides the weekday lessons for the epistles in two separate lists. The first occurs with the weekday lessons from the gospels beginning with Easter and ending with the sixteenth week after Pentecost (Scrivener, *Plain Introduction*, 80–83). The second list occurs in a footnote and begins with the sixteenth week after Pentecost (ibid., 86 n. 3). For the second list, he acknowledges his reliance on L170 (ibid.). He does not explicitly note his dependence on L170 for the earlier lessons (ibid., 80–83), which the reader might assume come collectively from the manuscripts he lists as his sources at the beginning of the chapter (ibid. 80). This ambiguity led Gregory, who records the divergent lessons found in Scrivener alongside the traditional lections, to attribute the source for the earlier divergent lessons from Scrivener to “Scr.” (= Scrivener) and the later lessons to “Apl 68” (= Apostel 68 = L170) perhaps without realizing they were one in the same source (Gregory, *Textkritik*, 348–360). Gregory’s confusion surely originated from the fact that Scrivener accidentally started his second list (Scrivener, *Plain Introduction*, 86 n. 3) with the same week (ις = 16) on which he ended his first list (ibid., 83), resulting in the weekday lessons between 1 Cor 16:3–2 Cor 2:15 and the lessons between 2 Cor 2:4–5:21 both being attributed to week ις even though the latter really occur in the subsequent week (ιζ). Consequently, all of the lessons in Scrivener’s second list occur one week earlier in Scrivener than they actually occur in L170. Gregory appears to have merely copied Scrivener as this mistake is repeated by him. Furthermore, for the week that appears twice in Scrivener (ις), Gregory understandably lists both sets of readings, recording one as from “Scr.” and the other from “Apl 68.” Thus, neither Scrivener nor Gregory are reliable for readings from L170 after week ιε (Gregory was misled by Scrivener’s ambiguity of his sources and his mistakenly listing of the same week twice). For an accurate list of the lection identifiers for L170 see Cocroft, though he only lists the Pauline lessons from the Matthean section of the lectionary (Ronald E. Cocroft, *A Study of the Pauline Lessons in the Matthean Sections of the Lectionary* [Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1968], 242–275). Additionally, images of the manuscript can be consulted at the websites for CSNTM and the NTVMR—as of early 2019 the content for L170 had not yet been indexed at either site. Of course, the modern text-critic’s job to untangle the above mess is not helped by the fact that the manuscript’s designation in

weekday lessons for the epistles are examined holistically, the difference between his system and the traditional system becomes obvious: the absence of the Catholic epistles. Though his weekend lessons match the traditional system, his weekday lessons for the epistles drop the Catholic epistles and expand the number of Pauline lessons (including Hebrews) to cover the remaining liturgical year. Consequently, he typically includes more but shorter lessons for each Pauline epistle.<sup>76</sup> This expansion of the Pauline lessons provides a potential explanation for the different placement of 2 Thessalonians in the manuscripts listed above. To confirm this hypothesis, I spot-checked each of the manuscripts above for the weeks in which they place the weekday lessons from Romans 1, Ephesians 1, and 2 Timothy 1. I have also included the placement of Ephesians 4:1 and 5:1 since these are weekend readings.

**Table 5.10: Broader Comparison of Lectionary Readings between the Two Systems**

System / MSS	Rom 1	Eph 1	2 Tim 1	Eph 4:1	Eph 5:1
Traditional System	α	ις	κζ	κε:κυ(ριακη)	λ:σα(ββατω)
915	α	κγ	λε	κε:κυ(ριακη)	λ:σα(ββατω)
L156	α	κγ	λε	κε:κυ(ριακη)	λ:σα(ββατω)
43	α	κγ	λς	κε:κυ(ριακη)	λ:σα(ββατω)
L170	α	κγ	λς	κε:κυ(ριακη)	λ:σα(ββατω)
384	α	κδ	λς-λζ	κε:κυ(ριακη)	λ:σα(ββατω)
330	α	κε	λς	κε:κυ(ριακη)	λ:σα(ββατω)
451	α	κε	λς	κε:κυ(ριακη)	λ:σα(ββατω)

In the traditional system, the weekday lessons for Romans 1 are read in the first week after Pentecost (α), the weekday lessons for Ephesians 1 are read in the sixteenth week (ις), and the weekday lessons for 2 Timothy 1 are read in the twenty-seventh week (κζ). Keep in mind that the weekday lessons from the epistles are read sequentially beginning for Paul in Romans (week 1) and ending with Hebrews (in week 31). Then, in the traditional system, the

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Scrivener (B-C. III. 24) differs from Gregory (Apl 68) which differs from the modern system (L170) nor the fact that the manuscript was part of the Burdett-Coutts collection (hence Scrivener's B-C. designation) during Scrivener's and Gregory's day, but was later acquired by the University of Michigan (and is currently designated in their catalogue as "MS 035") (cf. Coccoft, *The Pauline Lessons*, 37). The manuscript can be located on the Pinakes database (<https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr>) via its Diktyon ID: 892.

<sup>76</sup> For instance, I count twenty-one lessons from 1 Corinthians in the traditional system and 31 in Scrivener (cf. *Plain Introduction*, 82).

Catholic epistles are read beginning in the thirty-first week and ending in the thirty-sixth. However, in the manuscripts above, the readings for Ephesians 1 are pushed back seven to nine weeks to somewhere between the twenty-third (κγ) and twenty-fifth weeks (κε). The readings for 2 Timothy 1 are pushed back eight to ten weeks to somewhere between the thirty-fifth (λε) and thirty-seventh weeks (λζ).<sup>77</sup> Based on Table 5.10 above, the difference between the two systems appears to be due to the expansion of the Pauline material to cover all thirty-six weeks after Pentecost, leaving no room for the Catholic epistles. Also, the weekend lessons appear to be the same as in the traditional system perhaps suggesting that the weekend lessons were fixed at an earlier date than the weekday lessons.<sup>78</sup>

To summarize: the alternate dates and extra lection noted above for some of the manuscripts of 2 Thessalonians appears to be the result of a different lection system which circulated in antiquity for the weekdays of the Apostolos. This system used the Pauline epistles exclusively for all thirty-six weeks after Pentecost and expanded the number of Pauline lessons to cover this time period. Nevertheless, its weekend system was the same as the traditional Byzantine Apostolos. Of course, I have not indexed these manuscripts completely but only checked them in the verses mentioned above. And there has been very limited discussion of this alternative lectionary system in the secondary literature.<sup>79</sup> These two facts make this phenomenon a topic worthy of more investigation and the attention of other scholars who study New Testament manuscripts and especially lectionaries. Does this

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<sup>77</sup> Typically, the numbering of weeks concludes with the thirty-sixth (λς). The week following the thirty-sixth is typically described as the week of the Carnival (ἀποκρέω) and is notated as such in the manuscripts.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. Cocroft, *The Pauline Lessons*, 37.

<sup>79</sup> The aberrant system of L170 is discussed by Cocroft (*ibid.*, 37–40). L156 is discussed by Gibson (*The Apostolos*, 81–85). The only broader discussion I could find in the secondary literature was that of Klaus Junack. In an extended article on lectionaries, he notes the existence of this alternate system, which excludes the Catholic epistles, and lists the following lectionaries as attesting a form of it: L156, L165, L170, L176, L609, L617, L1818, L2098 (Klaus Junack, “Zu den griechischen Lektionaren und ihrer Überlieferung der Katholischen Briefe,” in *Die Alten Übersetzungen des Neuen Testaments: Die Kirchenväterzitate und Lektionare* [ed. K. Aland; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972], 521–523).

alternate system antedate or postdate the traditional Byzantine system? Does it originate from a specific region or monastery? How many more manuscripts attest this exclusively Pauline system? A more extensive investigation might be able to provide answers and would certainly be worthwhile.

### Summary of Findings

This chapter analyzed select paratextual features of the 76 non-commentary, minuscule manuscripts included in the thesis. As with previous chapters, I provide a numbered summary of some of the more salient findings of this chapter.

1. The most frequently occurring paratextual feature was the hypothesis, which occurred in 45 of the 76 manuscripts (59%). All of these manuscripts included either the standard Euthalian hypothesis, a portion of it, or an abbreviated Euthalian version. One manuscript included both the Euthalian hypothesis and the hypothesis of Theodoret. Eleven manuscripts were identified which were not included in Willard's survey of manuscripts with hypotheses.
2. The second most frequently occurring paratextual feature was the stichometric notation. Thirty-two of seventy-six manuscripts (42%) listed a count of *stichoi*. All but two of these manuscripts had the standard notation ( $\rho\varsigma = 106$ ). One manuscript appears to list the number of *stichoi* for the text with *nomina sacra* ( $\rho\varsigma = 106$ ) and the text if the *nomina sacra* were expanded ( $\rho\iota\beta = 112$ ). Two manuscripts listed a higher number of *stichoi* ( $\rho\iota\varsigma = 116$ ), for which there was not a readily available explanation. These manuscripts also listed 850 *stichoi* for Hebrews, which may buttress the theory that Epistle of Barnabas recorded in the stichometric catalogue of Codex Claromontanus refers actually to Hebrews—a tangential but nevertheless important finding.

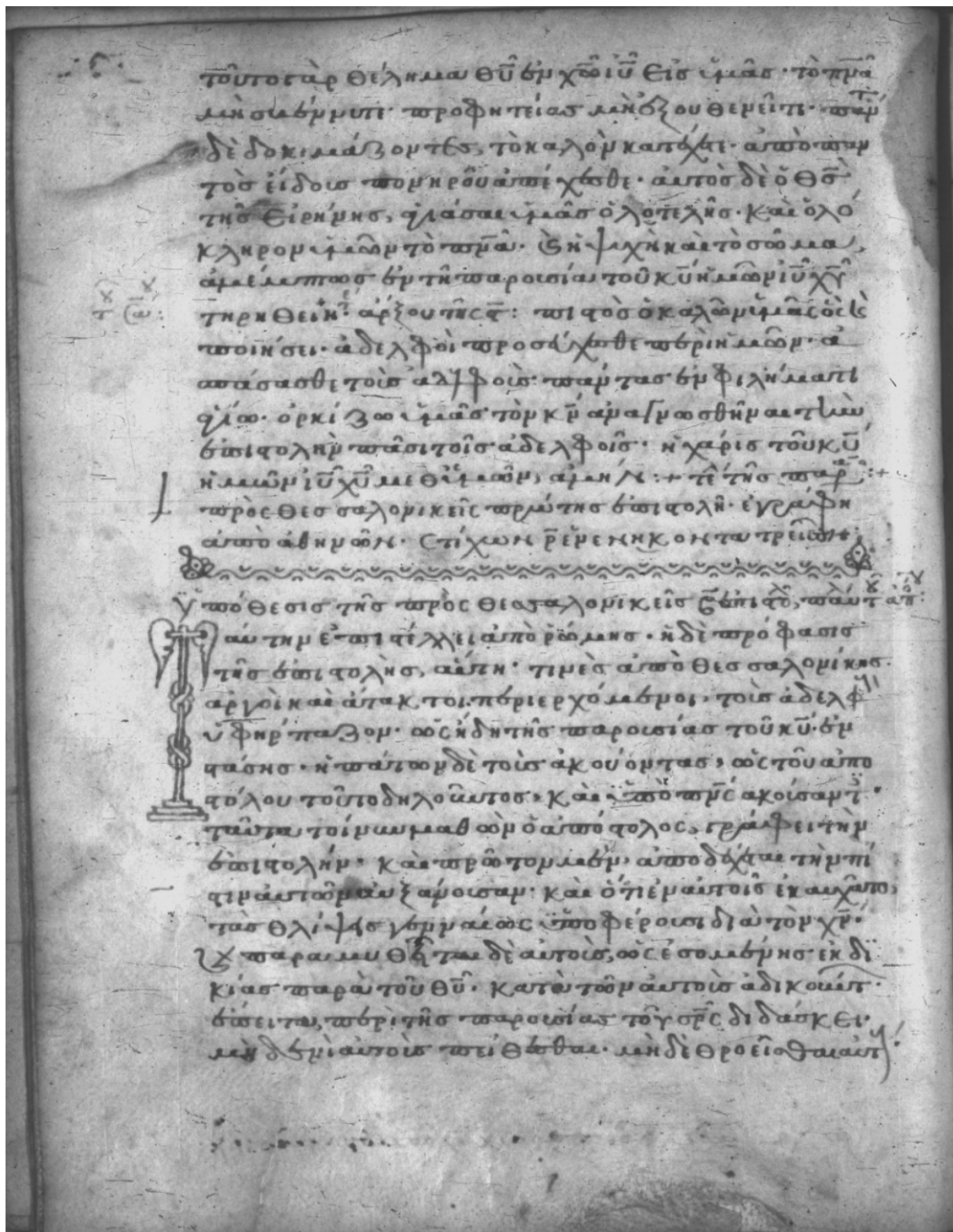
3. Another frequently occurring paratextual feature was the kephalaia list. Twenty-nine of the seventy-six manuscripts (38%) included a kephalaia list. Much variation occurred among these lists in terms of numeration and segmentation. This variation appeared to be the result of differing editorial decisions for how to number or segment the subsections of the kephalaia. Nine different numbering systems were documented and at least five different ways of segmenting the text were observed. Also, seven manuscripts were identified as having a kephalaia list which are not included in Willard's survey.
4. This chapter also included a discussion of the order of the books within the manuscripts. Fifty-four of the manuscripts had the traditional order, placing the Thessalonian epistles between Colossians and 1 Timothy. However, 21 manuscripts placed Hebrews after 2 Thessalonians, including 7 manuscripts not previously documented as having this alternative order. The ratio of manuscripts with the 2 Thess-Hebrews order raised the issue of whether this ordering was more prevalent in antiquity than previously thought.
5. The final paratextual feature analyzed was the lection identifier. Thirty manuscripts (39%) included lection identifiers, enabling the reader of these manuscripts to identify which sections of scripture should be read when during the church calendar. Most manuscripts (n=26) followed the traditional calendar, placing the lections from 2 Thessalonians in the twenty-fifth week after Pentecost. However, four manuscripts placed readings significantly later in the year, between the thirty-third and thirty-fourth weeks. Three other manuscripts, outside my dataset, were also identified as having similar alternate systems. These manuscripts appear to attest a weekday lectionary for the Apostolos that drops the Catholic epistles from the weekday readings and includes more Pauline lections to cover the 36 weeks after Pentecost.

The findings summarized above confirm the value of a corpus-based approach to the paratextual and codicological features of New Testament manuscripts. This approach offers a broader vista of minuscule manuscripts, highlighting the variety of ways editors handled and readers encountered the New Testament text. Currently, the indexing and transcribing of the manuscripts for the ECM is underway. Significant time and financial resources are being invested in these endeavors, most of which focuses on the text of the New Testament. Perhaps the editors of the ECM might consider requiring the cataloging of paratextual features while manuscripts are being indexed and transcribed. This could help create a database on which future studies could rely, which would, in turn, provide a more complete understanding of paratextuality in antiquity.

### **Bringing It All Together: The Anatomy of a Pauline Manuscript**

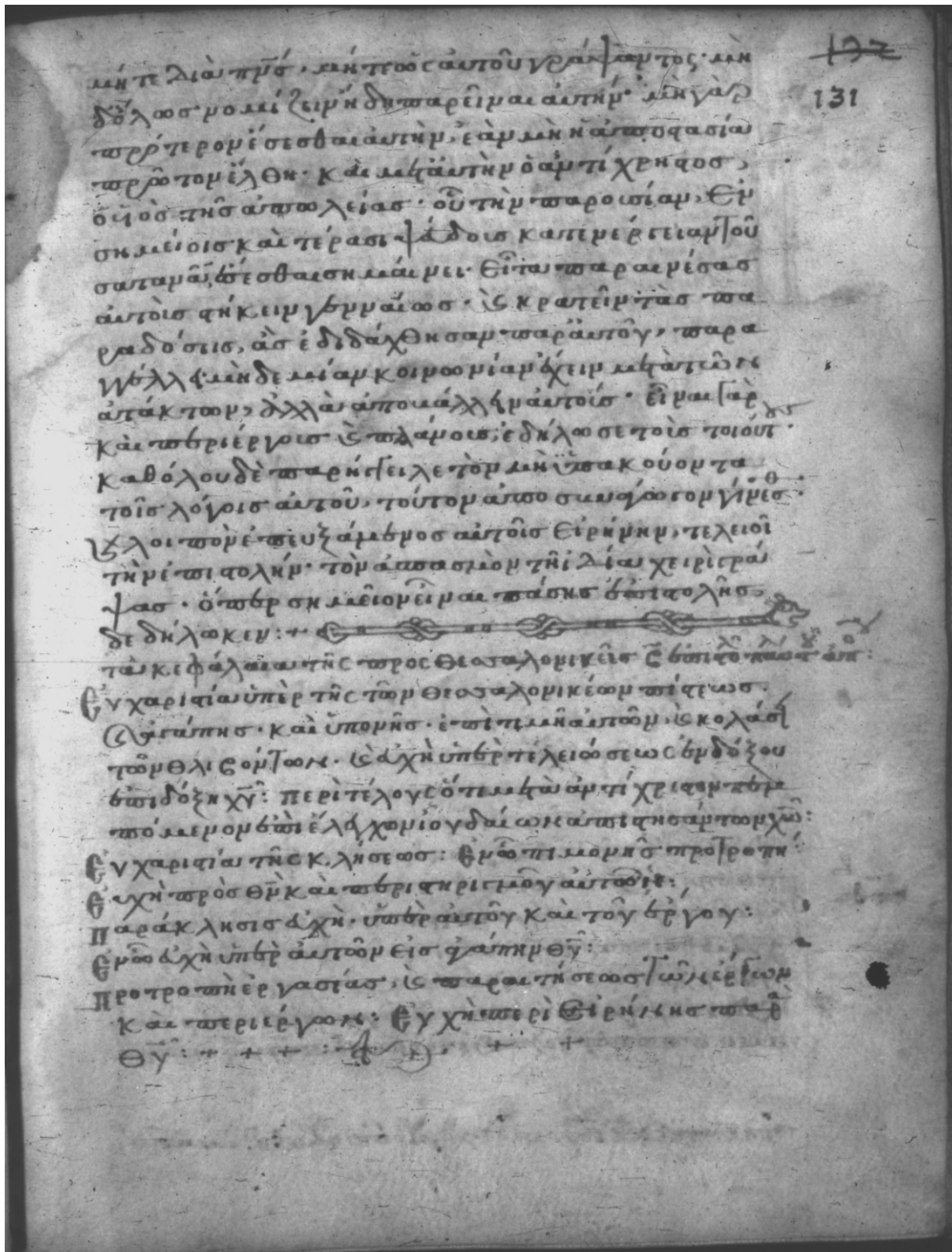
The discussion above, like so much text-critical scholarship, extracts data from an examination of ancient artefacts. Though this type of analysis is useful and allows the discovery of larger trends across many manuscripts and centuries, it detaches the results from the original context—that is, from the manuscripts themselves. Of course, this is a necessity, but too often, students and scholars only encounter manuscripts via data that has been abstracted from its living context. In an effort to turn the attention back to the manuscripts and the original context in which the paratextual features discussed above occur, I offer this excursus which presents the folios of 2 Thessalonians for manuscript 425. I have chosen 425 because it includes all of the paratextual features discussed above. Following each image, I have described the features occurring on the page. My hope is that this will simulate a true encounter with the paratextual features that were a part of so many New Testament minuscules.

Figure 5.11: GA 425. f. 130v



Description: In the middle of the page, after the decorative line, the introduction to the hypothesis occurs: ὑπόθεσις τῆς πρὸς θεσσαλονικεῖς β' ἐπιστολ(ῆς) παύλου τοῦ ἀπο(στόλ)ου. This hypothesis is the standard Euthalian hypothesis.

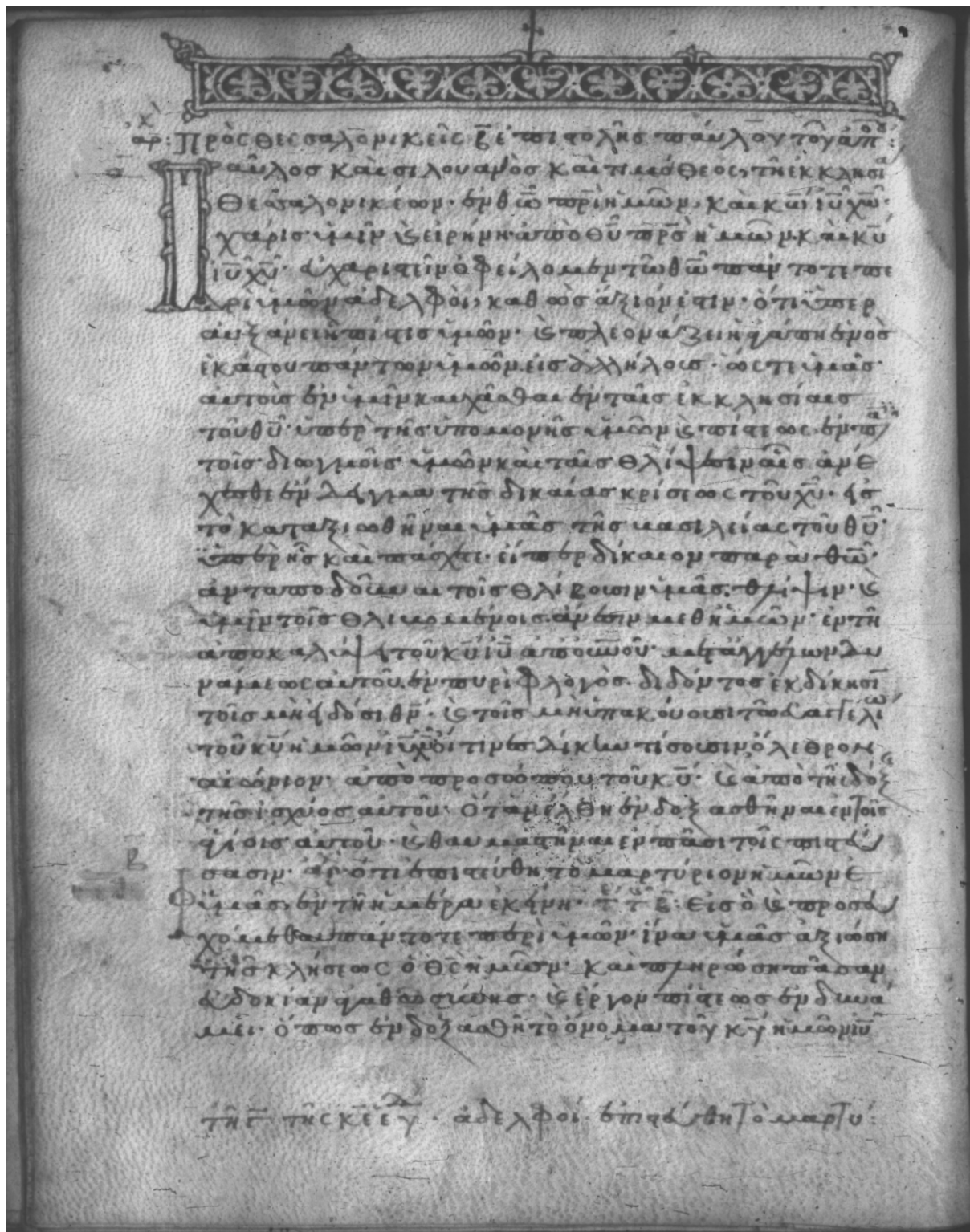
Figure 5.12: GA 425. f. 131r



Description: The introduction to the kephalaia list occurs on the nineteenth line (about midway down the page) after a decorative zoomorphic device occupying part of a line. The introduction reads τὰ κεφάλαια τῆς πρὸς Θεσσαλονικεῖς β' ἐπιστολῆς παύλου τοῦ ἀποστόλου. The kephalaia list occurs without numbers, but has nine sections, which are distinguished by the capitalization of the first letter of each section, which are also set slightly into the left margin.

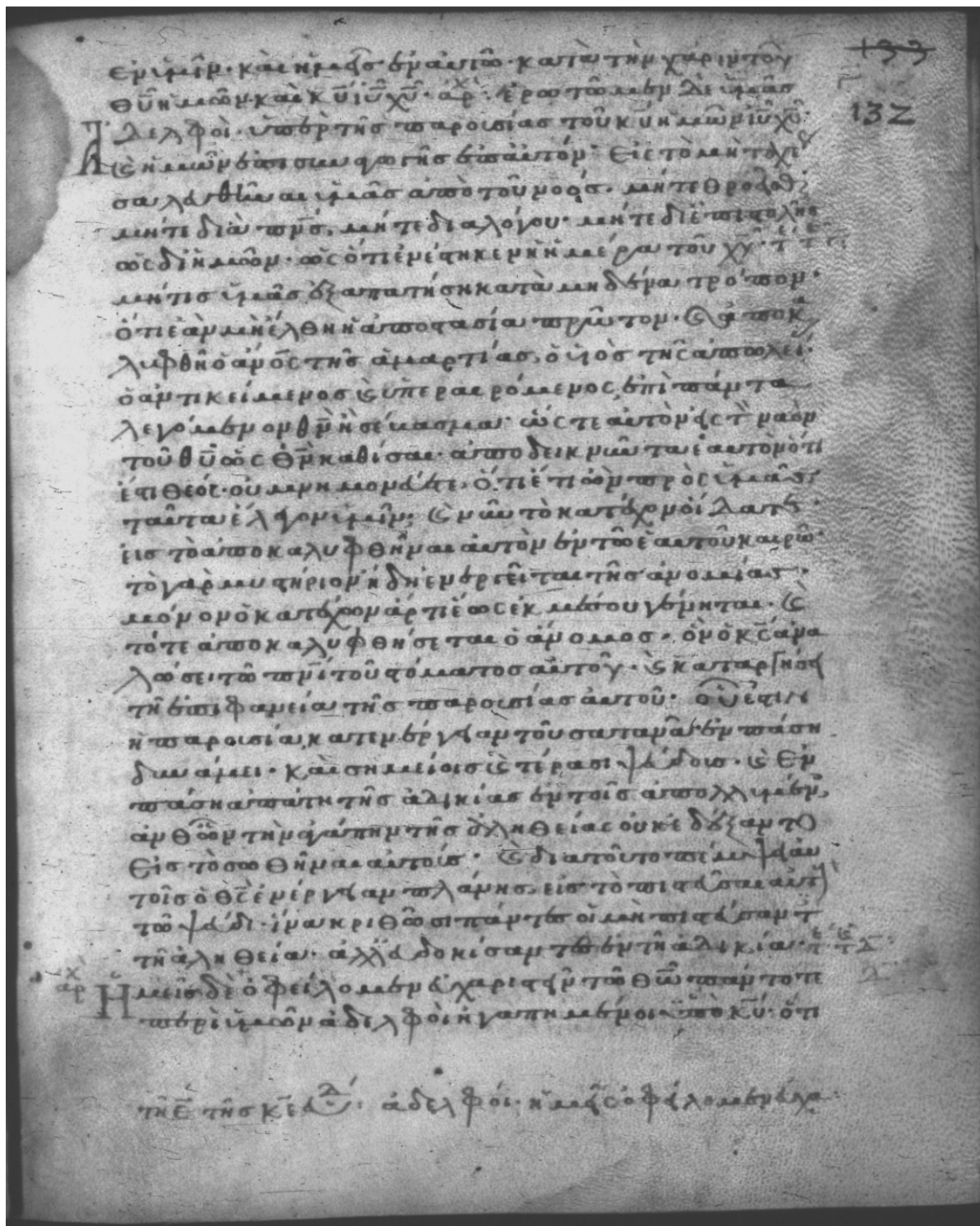


Figure 5.13: GA 425. f. 131v



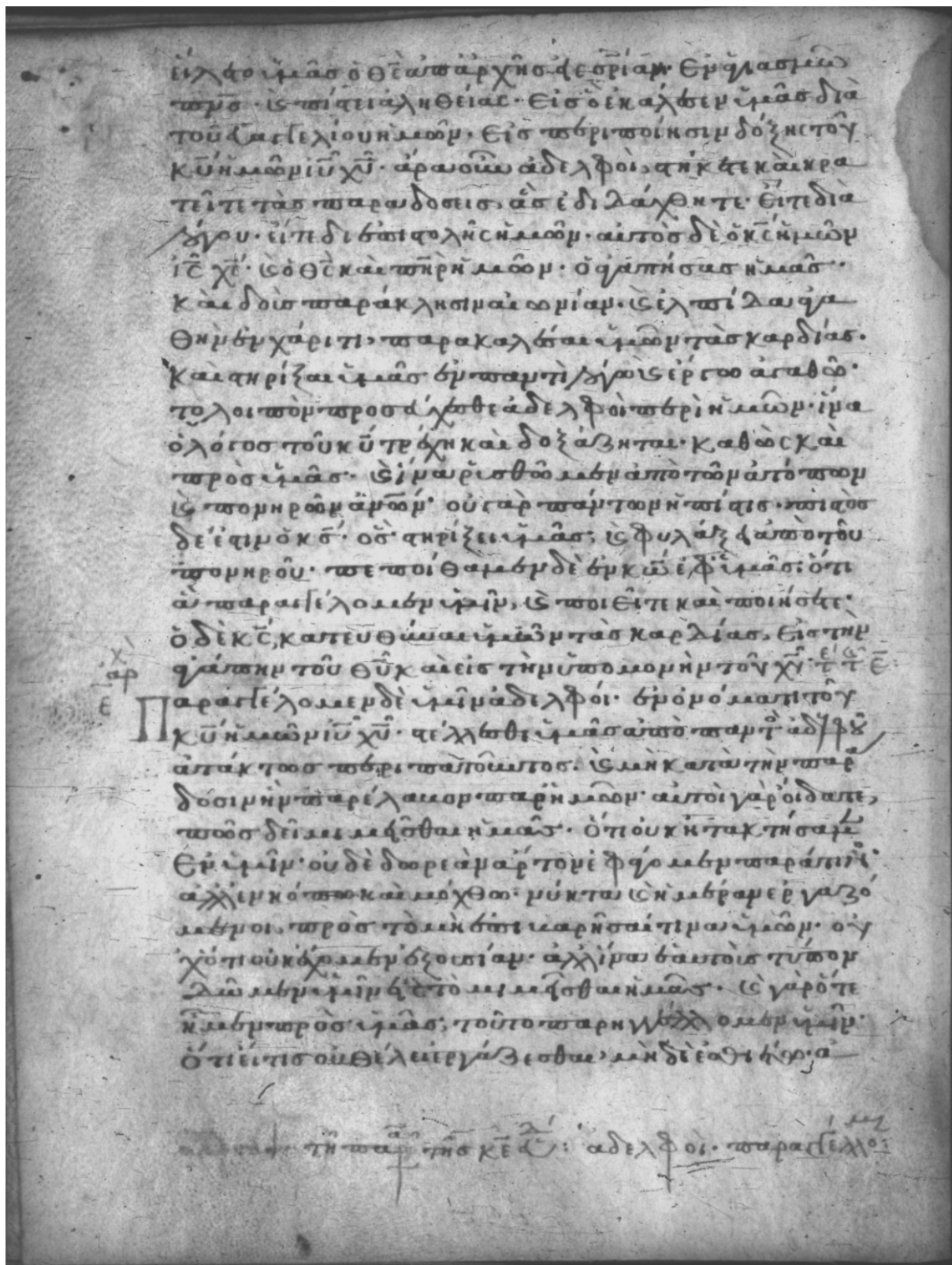
Description: An elaborate decorative header and the inscription to 2 Thessalonians occur at the top of the page. This is followed by 2 Thessalonians 1:1–12. Along the left margin, ἀρχ(ή) occurs at the top of the page to mark the beginning of the first lection (1:1–10a). Its corresponding ending marker occurs five lines from the bottom in the middle of 1:10 reading τέ(λος) τῆς β [= end of the second day (of the week) not the second lection]. Also along the left margin and aligned with rubricated capitals in ekthesis, are the numbers α (1:1) and β (1:10) which appear to be sequentially counting the lections. At the bottom of the page there is a lection identifier for the second lection (1:10b–2:2): τῇ γ τῆς κε εὐδ(ομάδος) [= ἑβδομάδος]: ἀδελφοί· ἐπιστεύθη τὸ μαρτύριον.

*Figure 5.14: GA 425. f. 132r*



Description: The text of 2 Thessalonians 1:12–2:13. The lection boundary markers ἀρχ(ή) and τέλ(ος) occur along the margins and within the text for the beginning of the third lection (2:1; line 2), the end of the second lection (2:2; line 7), the end of the third lection (2:12; line 29), and the beginning of the fourth lection (2:13; line 30). The third and fourth lections are also numbered sequentially in the right margin with γ and δ, respectively. Again, they are aligned with the rubricated capitals in ekthesis. At the bottom of the page there is a lection identifier for the fourth lection: τῇ ε τῆς κε εὐδ(ομάδος): ἀδελφοί· ἡμεῖς ὀφείλομεν εὐχ(αριστεῖν). Note: the numeral δ in the right margin on line 29 indicates the end of the lection from the fourth day of the twenty-fifth week while the numeral δ on the subsequent line notes the beginning of the fourth lection of 2 Thessalonians.

Figure 5.15: GA 425. f. 132v



Description: The text of 2 Thessalonians 2:13–3:11. The lection boundary markers ἀρχ(ή) and τέλ(ος) occur along the margins for the end of the fourth lection (3:5; line 19) and the beginning of the fifth lection (3:6; lines 19–20). The fifth lection is numbered in the left margin with ε (line 20) above the rubricated capital in ekthesis. At the bottom of the page there is a lection identifier for the fifth lection: τῇ παρα(σκευῇ) τῆς κε εὐδ(ομάδος): ἀδελφοί· παραγγέλλομεν.

[illegible]

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## CHAPTER 6

### CONCLUSION

#### **Thesis Summary and Suggestions for Future Research**

The examination of these manuscripts of 2 Thessalonians presents a number of significant outcomes and findings. First, in creating full digital transcriptions of 137 witnesses, I have in several cases, cases produced an *editio princeps* for manuscripts which have not been previously published.<sup>1</sup> These 137 witnesses were then used to create a critical text and apparatus of 2 Thessalonians, the first in which manuscripts have been selected according to a comprehensive and systematic process (i.e., the *Teststellen* method) to identify the witnesses most relevant for the earliest text of the Greek New Testament. Additionally, this edition is based on more Greek manuscript evidence than any previous edition and, naturally, provides access to more textual variants.<sup>2</sup> Consequently, it is hoped that this thesis will be a resource to scholars, pastors, and anyone interested in the text and transmission of 2 Thessalonians.

This thesis also provided a fresh evaluation of the variation units to identify the earliest text of 2 Thessalonians, which had not been studied in-depth in over a century.<sup>3</sup> This evaluation resulted in five differences from the text of NA28. In two variation units, I preferred readings different from NA28: αὐτοῦ rather than ἑαυτοῦ in 2 Thess 2:6 and ὅπ᾽άντες rather than πάντες in 2 Thess 2:12. Also, in two instances, I decided that an alternative reading had an equal claim with the NA28 editorial text to represent the earliest attainable text (indicated by a ♦): ἐν πυρὶ φλογός versus ἐν φλογὶ πυρός in 2 Thess 1:8;

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<sup>1</sup> For more on the idea of electronic editions functioning as *editio princeps*, see Hugh A. G. Houghton and Catherine J. Smith, “Digital Editing and the Greek New Testament,” in *Ancient Worlds in Digital Culture* (ed. Claire Clivaz, Paul Dilley, and David Hamidović; Leiden: Brill, 2016), 115.

<sup>2</sup> As I reported in a 2016 paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, this edition has more than 200 variants which are not reported in the apparatuses of Tischendorf, von Soden, and NA28. Among these, more than 50 variants are supported by multiple manuscripts.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Friedrich Zimmer, *Der Text der Thessalonicherbriefe* (Quedlinburg: Chr. Friedr. Viewegs, 1893).

νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας versus νυκτὰ καὶ ἡμέρα in 2 Thess 3:8. Finally, in 2 Thess 2:14, I find καὶ most likely to be the earliest reading while NA28 brackets it. While these changes may seem modest, they match the two other recent studies of the text of individual Pauline epistles: Carlson proposed twelve changes to NA28 for Galatians (a much longer book) while Solomon proposed two changes for Philemon.<sup>4</sup> The fact that so few changes have been proposed essentially affirms the quality of the editorial text of NA28 (at least for these epistles) and the broad results of the text-critical scholarship of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (again, at least as it applies to the epistles in question). For 2 Thessalonians—but probably also for all of the Pauline epistles—critical scholarship has more or less recovered the earliest attainable text from the evidence currently available. While slight editorial changes will continue to occur from edition to edition, these differences are minor and are not new in the sense that the editions of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were already split over most of these readings. And herein lies the potential of the CBGM and ECM: by using computer technology and ensuring that the manuscripts most relevant for the earliest text are included, these tools can yield new data and perhaps anchor some of *these* text-critical decisions in more robust evidence and, consequently, further reduce the percentage of variants which may change from edition to edition.

Another important finding of this thesis was the affirmation of the quality of the text of Vaticanus, which had 97.22% pregenealogical coherence with my reconstructed text, the highest of any manuscript. This is in spite of the fact that in the two places where I have changed the text vis-à-vis NA28, I have gone against Vaticanus. Moreover, of the instances where external evidence has been decisive in my textual commentary, these readings almost

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<sup>4</sup> Cf. Stephen C. Carlson, *The Text of Galatians and Its History* (WUNT 2:385; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015), 250; S. Matthew Solomon, “The Textual History of Philemon” (Ph.D. diss., New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary, 2014), 585.

always include the majority of manuscripts or a more or less split manuscript tradition.<sup>5</sup> In other words, when readings of Vaticanus are preferred over the majority of manuscripts, it is almost always, in part, due to the internal evidence. Vaticanus also had the highest pregenealogical coherence with the *Ausgangstext* for the Catholic Epistles and Acts as reported by the supporting websites of the ECM.<sup>6</sup> Thus, the pregenealogical data from this thesis aligns with these data and affirms the high-quality text of this manuscript. Of course, Vaticanus should not be followed uncritically. Vaticanus, at times, has inferior readings and all of the evidence must be brought to bear for each text-critical decision.

A significant finding of this thesis was also the affirmation of the *Teststellen* method. For the manuscripts in this thesis, it has very accurately predicted the degree to which a manuscript would be Byzantine—even though in the case of 2 Thessalonians only 9 *Teststellen* were used. This was demonstrated via a comparison of the Byzantine coherence of manuscripts with the percentage of *Teststellen* agreement for each manuscript. This analysis revealed a high positive correlation between Byzantine coherence and *Teststellen* agreement. In other words, the number of *Teststellen* agreeing with the Majority text was a reliable predictor of the degree to which a manuscript would be Byzantine. Although there are some caveats to this claim, it should, in general, reassure the editors and users of the ECM and the Nestle-Aland editions that will eventually be derived from it: the evidence of this thesis suggests that the *Teststellen* method *can be* reliable in identifying the manuscripts most deviant from the Majority text for the whole text of a biblical book.

I now turn to note the most significant results of the textual history and paratextual chapters of this thesis. As for the textual history of 2 Thessalonians, its detectable transmission was relatively stable. The average pregenealogical coherence between all

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<sup>5</sup> The one exception is 2 Thess 3:12 (ἐν κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ), though, as I have noted earlier, Fee sides with Vaticanus on internal grounds (cf. Gordan D. Fee, *The First and Second Letters to the Thessalonians* [NICNT. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009], 332–333, n. 71).

<sup>6</sup> See [http://intf.uni-muenster.de/cbqm/index\\_en.html](http://intf.uni-muenster.de/cbqm/index_en.html) and <https://ntg.cceh.uni-koeln.de/acts/ph4/>.



manuscripts was 93.40% and the average pregenealogical coherence with the editorial text was 94.07%. In comparison, the average pregenealogical coherence with the *Ausgangstext* for the manuscripts used by the ECM for the Catholic Epistles and Acts was 89% in both instances. For 2 Thessalonians, these figures exclude sub-variants that were a result of orthographic differences or which were nonsense readings, but they also do not include variation units where there was not any variation in the textual tradition. Regardless, the high amount of agreement suggests significant stability in the extant tradition.

Also of note for the textual history of 2 Thessalonians is the fact that 06 is less closely related to 010/012 than in other Pauline epistles. The studies of Zuntz and Carlson suggested a close relationship between these three so-called “Western” manuscripts. The analysis of this thesis aligned more with Solomon, who, for Philemon, reported that these manuscripts did not evince a close relationship based on his quantitative analysis. A reevaluation of the relationship between 06 and 010/012 across all of the Pauline Epistles seems to be in order, one based on digital transcriptions and pregenealogical (and other) data.

The data from the textual history chapter also affirmed the hypothesis that the Byzantine text developed gradually not reaching its full form until the ninth century and not dominating the textual tradition until the tenth century or later. Based on the genealogical data for 2 Thessalonians, (1) the Byzantine text, in its full form, is not attested until the ninth century; (2) in the ninth century, the majority of manuscripts still are not Byzantine; (3) from the tenth century onwards, the majority of manuscripts are Byzantine. Additionally, pre-ninth century manuscripts with datable texts become more Byzantine across time though the sample size for these manuscripts was very small (7 in total) and, as emphasized, the situation was certainly more complex than a simple linear development. Nevertheless, the extant data affirms the development perspective of the Byzantine text advocated by Wachtel.

Several other important findings emerged from the textual history chapter. Two manuscripts were identified as potentially having a parent-child, sibling, or otherwise very close relationship. Manuscripts 1985 and 2102 have high pregenealogical coherence with one another (96.69), but, more importantly, the highest number of agreements in variation (44) in the dataset—even higher than manuscripts known to be close relatives, such as 010 and 012. The exact relationship between 1985 and 2102 needs to be fully investigated and could yield insights into scribal habits given their close relationship. Another insight of this thesis is related to commentary manuscripts. The commentary manuscripts in my dataset, on average, have a lower *Teststellen* agreement than their non-commentary counterparts, but are actually more Byzantine in terms of Byzantine coherence, and less closely related to the editorial text in terms of pregenealogical coherence. The derivation of commentary manuscripts was also demonstrated qualitatively where the readings of many commentary manuscripts for *Teststellen* 7 and 8 were shown to be most likely developments out of the Majority text. This raises the issue of the potential of overrepresentation of commentary manuscripts in the ECM. Many of these manuscripts are likely to qualify for inclusion in the ECM due their *Teststellen* agreement, but are also likely to be more Byzantine than their *Teststellen* agreement implies. Of course, until one fully transcribes the commentary manuscripts slated for inclusion in the ECM, it is difficult to know beforehand whether they are derivative of the Byzantine text or not. Thus, I recommend that commentary manuscripts continue to be included in the ECM, but perhaps text critics should consider again the merit of indicating which manuscripts are from commentaries via their sigla. If commentary manuscripts, similar to lectionaries, have their own unique tradition and unique problems,<sup>7</sup> then why conceal this

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<sup>7</sup> On the relationship of commentary manuscripts with one another, see the section entitled, “Closely Related Manuscripts and Groups of Manuscripts” in Chapter 4 (“A Textual History of 2 Thessalonians”). See also the discussion of the following variation units in the commentary chapter: 1:8 (τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ); 1:9 (τοῦ κυρίου); 1:10 (τοῖς πιστεύουσιν); 2:7 (ὁ κατέχων); 3:12 (ἐν κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ). I have not attempted to isolate the extent to which this problem is affected by commentary type. For instance, the majority

information from the users? If not in the critical apparatuses then perhaps these changes should be considered at least for the textual flow diagrams that will be reconstructed by the CBGM. This could easily be accomplished by appending a K(ommentar) to the beginning or, if it is deemed preferable not to disrupt the sequencing, the end of the Gregory-Aland numbers. This would not only alert users into which readings are present in a commentary milieu but it would also show more clearly how commentary manuscripts are genealogically related and make more conspicuous the scope to which commentary manuscripts shape the apparatus of the ECM.<sup>8</sup>

As for the paratextual chapter of this thesis, several important findings emerged. This chapter demonstrated the value of a corpus-based approach to analyzing paratextual features of minuscule manuscripts. Paratextuality is often discussed in single-manuscript studies, but less frequently analyzed across a corpus of manuscripts. While the former approach perhaps allows for greater depth, the latter enables the cataloging of the frequency of forms and the identification of aberrant systems. For the manuscripts analyzed in this thesis, the hypothesis was the most frequently occurring feature (59% of analyzed MSS) following by the stichometric notation (42%), and then the lection identifier (39%) and the the kephalaia list (38%). These data demonstrate that these paratextual features are relatively frequent in minuscule manuscripts. The analysis also revealed several manuscripts to have important paratextual features that were not included in previous catalogues of such features.<sup>9</sup> Several paratextual features deviating from the norm were also identified, but perhaps the most important was the identification of seven manuscripts with an alternative lectionary system

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of the commentary manuscripts in my thesis are those of Theophylact, which may be skewing the data. Perhaps the commentary manuscripts of Theophylact are sub-Byzantine while those of others are not.

<sup>8</sup> Portions of the paragraph above were taken or edited from a paper I presented at the 2016 annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature (Grant G. Edwards, "A New Collation of 2 Thessalonians," [paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, San Antonio, TX, 20 November, 2016]).

<sup>9</sup> I have in mind Willard's survey of manuscripts with hypotheses and kephalaia lists and Hatch's survey of manuscripts with alternative orders of New Testament books.

for the weekday lessons of the Apostolos. Seven manuscripts were identified which expand the number of Pauline readings to cover all thirty-six weeks after Pentecost. In the traditional Byzantine system, readings from Paul are read between the first and thirty-first week after Pentecost while the Catholic epistles are read from the thirty-first to the thirty-sixth. This alternative system, either does not leave room for the Catholic epistles or it allows for multiple readings on the same days. The origin and extent of this alternate system requires pursuing in future research.

### **Concluding Remark**

As noted at the outset of this thesis, critical texts and apparatuses are two of the primary expressions of how text critics present the results of their study of the text and transmission of ancient literary works. This thesis was intended to contribute to these endeavors by offering a re-evaluation of the text of 2 Thessalonians and the most extensive analysis to date of its transmission and manuscripts. It is hoped that the results of this thesis will contribute to the efforts of the ongoing work of the ECM and provide a resource to those who are interested in understanding 2 Thessalonians. Indeed, understanding the text is one of the ultimate goals of textual criticism and, in this regard, I am reminded of and I find myself sympathetic to the comments of one of the twentieth century's more famous scholars of literature:

I have owed, and must continue to owe, far more to editors, textual critics, commentators, and lexicographers than to anyone else. Find out what the author actually wrote and what the hard words meant and what the allusions were to, and you have done far more for me than a hundred new interpretations or assessments could ever do.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> C. S. Lewis, *An Experiment in Criticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961), 121.



## APPENDIX 1

### ORTHOGRAPHIC, ERRONEOUS, AND RECONSTRUCTED READINGS

The following appendix provides the sub-readings of the manuscripts which have been regularized to a parent reading for genealogical and text-critical purposes. These regularizations are due to orthographic differences (o), errors (f), or illegible readings which can be reconstructed confidently (V). In each case, the parent reading was intended by the copyist. In the case of nomina sacra, I have spelled out the readings in full unless one of the letters of a nomen sacrum was in doubt. Also, in terms of format, the sub-readings follow (separated by a “[ ]”) the parent reading which have been bolded. Parent readings that are part of the editorial text are left-justified. Indented readings are variants that differ from the editorial text.

#### Inscriptio

**προς θεσσαλονικεις β** ] προς θεσσαλονικεις β 03ο; προς θεσσαλονικεις β 06\*ο; προς θεσσαλονικης 454fo; προς θελλ θεσσαλονικεις δευτερα 61\*f; προς θεσσαλονικεις 1751f; προς θεσσαλονικεις δευτερα 1984ο;

**προς θεσσαλονικεις β επιστολη** ] προς θεσσαλονικεις δευτερα επιστολη 35ο; προς θεσσαλονικης β επιστολη 38ο; προς θεσσαλωνικεις β επιστολη 131ο; προς θεσσαλονικεις β επιστολη 1962V;

**προς θεσσαλονικης β επιστολης** ] προς θεσσαλονικεις δευτερας επιστολης 1609ο; προς θεσσαλονικεις δευτερος επιστολης 1977ο;

**προς θεσσαλονικεις β επιστολης παυλου του αποστολου** ] προς θεσσαλονικεις δευτερας επιστολης παυλου του αποστολου 1409V;

**προς θεσσαλονικεις επιστολης παυλου β** ] προς θεσσαλονικεις επιστολης παυλου 451f;

**προς θεσσαλονικεις παυλου επιστολη β** ] προς θεσσαλονικεις παυλου επιστολη β 2558V;

**η προς θεσσαλονικεις β επιστολη** ] η προς θεσσαλονικεις δευτερα επιστολη 1101ο;

**η προς θεσσαλονικεις β επιστολη του αγιου αποστολου παυλου** ] η προς θεσσαλονικεις δευτερα επιστολη του αγιου αποστολου παυλου 2105ο;

**αρχεται προς θεσσαλονικαιων β** ] αρχεται προς θεσσαλονικαιων δευτερη 010ο;

**επιστολη προς θεσσαλονικεις β** ] επιστολη προς θεσσαλονικης β 1573ο; επιστολη προς θεσσαλονικεις β 2464ο;

**παυλου αποστολου επιστολη προς θεσσαλονικεις β** ] παυλου αποστολου επιστολη προς θεσσαλονικεις δευτερα 0278ο; παυλου αποστολου επιστολη προς θεσσαλονικεις 915f;

**παυλου επιστολη β προς θεσσαλονικεις ]** παυλου επιστολη β προς θεσσαλονικης 330ο;

**παυλος αποστολος προς θεσσαλονικεις επιστολη β ]** παυλος αποστολος προς θεσσαλονικεις επιστολη δευτερα 1899ο;

**παυλου επιστολη προς θεσσαλονικεις β ]** παυλου επιστολη προς θεσσαλονικης β 1390ο; παυλου επιστολη προς θεσσαλωνικοις β 1881ο;

**του αγιου αποστολου παυλου προς θεσσαλονικεις β επιστολη ]** του αγιου αποστολου παυλου προς θεσσαλονικεις δευτερα επιστολη 203ο;

**του αυτου επιστολη προς θεσσαλονικεις β ]** του αυτου επιστολη προς θεσσαλονικεις δευτερα 1987ο;

## **2 Thessalonians 1:1**

**παυλος ]** παυλος 1976V; παυλος 2558V;

**και ]** και 2558V;

**σιλουανος ]** σειλουανος 03ο; σιλβανος 06ο 010ο 012ο; σιλυανος 1739ο;

**και ]** και 2558V;

**τιμοθεος ]** τειμοθεος 03ο; τιμοθεος 1943V;

**τη ]** τη 103ο 1398ο 1910ο 1942ο;

**εκκλησια ]** [εκκ]λησια P30V; εκκλησεια 010ο 012ο; [εκκλησι]α 0111V; εκκλησιαι 1942ο; εκκλησια 2558V;

**θεσσαλονικεων ]** θεσσαλονεικεων 03ο; θεσσαλονικαιων 010ο 012ο 020ο 075ο 941ο 1311ο 1729ο 1751ο 1912ο 1985ο 2104ο 2558ο; θεσσαλωνικαιων 025ο; [θεσσαλονικε]ων 0111V; θεσσαλωνικαιων 131ο; θεσσαλωνικεων 620ο 1798ο 1881ο 1918ο 2674ο; θεσσαλονικεον 858ο; θεσσαλονικεων 1115ο 1950ο 2464ο;

**εν θεω ]** [ε]ν θεω P30V; [εν] [θω] 0111V;

**ημων ]** ημων 1976V; ημων 2558V;

**και ]** και 2558V;

## **2 Thessalonians 1:2**

**χαρις ]** χα[ρις] P30V 0111V; χαρεις 010ο 012ο; χαρης 1918ο; χαριν 2400f;

**υμιν ]** υμειν 06\*ο;

**και ειρηνη απο θεου ]** και ιρηνη απο θεου 010ο 012ο; και ειρηνη απο θ[υ] 016V; και ειρη[νη] [απο] [θυ] 0111V; και ειρηνη [α]πο θεου 33V; και ειρηγη απο θεου 1976V; και ειρηνη απο θεου 2558V;

**πατρος ]** [πρς] 016V;

**και ]** [και] 1976V;

**κυριου ]** [κυ] 0111V;

**ιησου ]** [ιω] 0111V;

**χριστου ]** [χυ] 0111V;

## 2 Thessalonians 1:3

**ευχαριστειν** ] ευχαρειστειν 010ο 012ο; ευχαρ[ιστειν] 016V; ευχαριστιν 06\*ο; ευχαρι[στειν] 0111V; ευχαριστειν 1976V; ευχαριστην 2558V; ε[υχα]ριστειν 2736V;  
**οφειλομεν** ] οφιλομεν 01ο 06\*ο 010ο 012ο 016ο 025ο 0278ο 1945ο 2464ο; οφιλωμεν 365ο; οφειλωμεν 517ο 2104ο 2805ο;  
**τω θεω παντοτε** ] [τω] [θω] [πα]ντοτε 0111V; τωι θεω παντοτε 103ο; τωι θεω παντοτε 436ο 517ο 1398ο 1910ο 1962ο;  
**περι** ] [περι] 016V 0111V; περη 1311ο;  
**υμων** ] υμων 2558V;  
**αδελφοι** ] αδελ[φοι] 0111V;  
**καθως** ] καθος 010ο; καθ[ως] 016V; [καθ]ως 0111V;  
αξιον εστιν ] [αξιον] εστιν 016V; αξιον [εστιν] 0111V; αξιον εστι 330ο 451ο 455ο 608ο 720ο 1830ο 1935ο 1943ο 1977ο 1985ο 1987ο 1991ο 2002ο 2102ο 2105ο 2197ο 2464ο; αξιων εστι 1751ο;  
**οτι** ] οτι 1947V;  
**υπεραυξανει** ] υπεραυξανει 012V; υπερ[αυξανει] 016V; υπερ[αυξα]νει 0111V; υπεραυξανη 0151ο 0278ο 104ο 459ο 620ο 858ο 1918ο; περαυξανει 90f 384f 1962f; υπεραυξανι 1751ο; υπεραυξανει 1947V; υπεραυξανει 2558V;  
**η πιστις** ] η πιστεις 010ο 012ο; [η] [πιστις] 016V; η πιστις 0111V; η πιστης 1751ο 1918ο; η πιστις 1947V;  
**πλεοναζει** ] πλε[ονα]ζει 0111V; πλεοναζη 0142ο 620ο 1661ο 1845ο 1918ο 2000ο; πλεοναζει 629ο; πλεωναζει 858ο 1751ο;  
**η αγαπη** ] η αγαπε 010\*ο; η αγαπη 2558V;  
**ενος εκαστου** ] ε[νο]ς εκαστου 0111V; ενος εκαστου 1943V;  
**παντων υμων** ] παν[τ]ων υμων 0111V; π[αν]των υμων 2464V;  
**εις αλληλους** ] εις αλληλους 0111V; εις αληλους 2464ο;

## 2 Thessalonians 1:4

**ωστε** ] ωσ[τε] 0111V; ωστε 2558V;  
**εν υμιν ενκαυχασθαι** ] εν υμιν ενκαυχασθαι 02ο 03\*ο 33ο 1912ο 2464ο; [εν] [1]μιν ενκαυ[χασθαι]ι 0111V; εν υμιν ενκαυχασθε 1918ο;  
**εν υμιν καυχασθαι** ] εν υμιν καυχασθε 915ο 1961ο 1985ο 2127ο; εν υμιν καυχασται 2674ο;  
**ενκαυχασθαι εν υμιν** ] ενκαυχασθαι εν υμιν 1751ο;  
**καυχασθαι εν υμιν** ] καυχασθε εν υμιν 1311ο;  
**εν ταις εκκλησιαις του θεου υπερ της υπομονης** ] εν ταις εκκλησιαις του θεου υπερ τες υπομονης 010\*ο; εν ταις εκ[κλησια]ις του θεου υπερ της υπομονης 0111V; εν ταις εκκλησιαις του θεου υπερ της υπομονης 1311ο; εν τες εκκλησιαις του θεου υπερ της υπομονης 1918ο;  
**υμων** ] υμων 0111V;  
**και** ] και 0111V;  
**πιστεως** ] πιστεος 010\*ο; πιστεως 0111V; πιστεως 1115V;  
**εν πασιν** ] εν πασι 01ο 020ο 044ο 056ο 075ο 6ο 33ο 35ο 38ο 61ο 81ο 88ο 90ο 103ο 104ο 131ο 142ο 203ο 218ο 254ο 256ο 263ο 330ο 365ο 384ο 436ο 442ο 451ο 454ο 455ο 459ο 506ο 517ο 582ο 606ο 608ο 620ο 630ο 858ο 915ο 941ο 999ο 1101ο 1115ο 1127ο 1241ο 1352ο 1354ο 1390ο 1409ο 1448ο 1456ο 1609ο 1739ο 1798ο 1830ο 1867ο 1881ο 1890ο



1899ο 1918ο 1935ο 1943ο 1947ο 1950ο 1961ο 1962ο 1969ο 1973ο 1976ο 1977ο 1984ο  
1987ο 1991ο 1995ο 2000ο 2002ο 2003ο 2004ο 2105ο 2127ο 2138ο 2197ο 2248ο 2298ο  
2400ο 2482ο 2492ο 2516ο 2523ο 2544ο 2558ο 2576ο 2674ο 2736ο 2805ο; εν πασιν 0111V;  
εν παση 0150ο 1661ο 1751ο; εν πασι 720οV; εν πασει 1729ο;

**και πασιν** ] και πασι 1524ο;

**τοις** ] τοις 0111V;

**διωγμοις** ] [δ]ιωγ[μοις] P92V; διωγμοις 0111V; διογμοις 0150ο 1729ο 2102ο 2464ο;  
διωμοις 2576\*f;

**υμων** ] υμων 0111V;

**και** ] και 0111V;

**ταις θλιψεσιν** ] ταις θλιψεσι 1115ο; τες θλιψεσιν 1918ο; ταις θληψεσιν 2464ο;

**θλιψεσιν** ] θλιψεσιν 0111V;

**αις** ] αις P92V;

**ανεχεσθε** ] ανε[χεσθε] P92V; ανεχεσθαι 33ο 629ο 1573ο 1729ο 1751ο 1845ο 1881ο  
1890\*ο 1985ο 2104ο 2464ο 2516ο; ανεσχεσθε 38f;

## 2 Thessalonians 1:5

**ενδειγμα** ] ενδιγμα 01ο 06ο 010ο 012ο 025ο 0111ο 0278ο 1729ο; ενδηγμα 2464ο; ενδειγμα  
2576V;

**της** ] τοις 1729ο;

**δικαιας κρισεως** ] [δικαι]ας κρι[σεως] P92V; δικαιας κρισεως 0111V; δικαιας η κρισεως  
1918f; δικαιας κρισεως 2558V;

**του** ] το[υ] 0111V;

**καταξιωθηναι** ] καταξειωθηναι 010ο 012ο; κατα[ξιωθη]ναι 0111V; καταξιωθειναι 1729ο;

**υμας** ] υμας 2558V;

**της βασιλειας** ] της βασιλιας 06\*ο 010ο 012ο 1918ο; της [βασι]λειας 0111V;

**υπερ ης** ] υπερ εις 020ο 1729ο 1751ο 2464ο; υπερ ης 0111V; υπερ η 075\*f; υπερ ης  
1115V;

**περι ης** ] περ ης 010ο 012ο; περ ης 1798ο;

**και πασχετε** ] και πασχεται 012ο 025ο 33ο 629ο 1729ο 2464ο; και πασχετε 2558V;

## 2 Thessalonians 1:6

**ειπερ** ] υπερ 1573ο 1729ο; ειπερ 1947V;

**εστιν** ] εστι 254Co 858ο 1985ο 2000ο 2102ο 2197ο 2248ο;

**παρα θεω** ] παρρα θω 0111V;

**ανταποδουναι** ] ανταποδουναι 0111V; ανταποδουν[αι] 203V; ανταποδουναι 1976V;  
ανταποδουγαι 2558V;

**τοις θλιβουσιν υμας θλιψιν** ] τοις θλειβουσιν υμας θλιψιν 03ο 010ο 012ο; τοις θλειβουσιν  
υμας θλειψιν 0111οV; τοις θλιβουσιν υμας θληψιν 38ο 1729ο; τοις θλιβουσι υμας θλιψιν  
1352ο 1950ο; τοις θλιβουσιν υμας θλιψιν 1524V; τοις θληβουσιν υμας θληψιν 2464ο;

## 2 Thessalonians 1:7

**και** ] κα 010\*f 012f; και 0111V;

**τοις θλιβομενοις** ] τοις θλιβομενοις 03ο 0111ο; τ[οις] θλιβομενοις 915V; τοις θλιβομενοις 2464ο; τοις θλιβομενοις 2558V;

**ανεσιν** ] ανε[σιν] 0111V; ανεσι 1678ο 2102ο; ανεσιν 1976V;

**εν τη αποκαλυψει** ] εν τη αποκαλυψη 025ο 38ο; εν τη αποκαλυψει 0111V; εν τη αποκαλυψει 103ο 454ο 1398ο 1910-1ο 1910-2ο; εν τη αποκαλυψει 506f; εν τη [αποκαλυψει] 1947V; εν τη αποκαλυψει 1976V; εν τη αποκαλυψει 2558V;

**μετ αγγελων** ] μετ ανγγελων 06ο; μετ αγγελων 010f; μετα αγγελων 025ο 61ο 218ο 2674ο; μετ αγγελων 0111V; μετ αγγελων 2736V;

**δυναμεως** ] δυναμειως 010ο 012ο; δυναμειως 2558V;

**αυτου** ] αυτου 81V;

## 2 Thessalonians 1:8

**εν φλογι πυρος** ] εν φλογι πυρος 0111CV; εν φλογη πυρος 1912ο 2464ο; **διδοντας** ] διδοντος 0111V; διδοντως 0150ο; διδοτος 1945f;

**διδους** ] διδους 010ο 012ο;

**εκδικησιν** ] εκδικησι 104ο; εκδικησιν 608V; εκδικησιν 2558V;

**τοις μη ειδοσιν** ] τοις μη ειδοσι 01ο 02ο 020ο 044ο 075ο 6ο 33ο 35ο 61ο 81ο 88ο 90ο 103ο 104ο 131ο 142ο 218ο 254ο 263ο 330ο 365ο 425ο 442ο 455ο 459ο 506ο 517ο 582ο 608ο 629ο 630ο 720ο 858ο 941ο 999ο 1101ο 1115ο 1127ο 1241ο 1390ο 1398ο 1409ο 1448ο 1456ο 1524ο 1573ο 1678ο 1739ο 1751ο 1798ο 1830ο 1867ο 1890ο 1899ο 1908ο 1910ο 1943ο 1947ο 1961ο 1962ο 1969ο 1973ο 1976ο 1984ο 1991ο 1995ο 2000ο 2002ο 2003ο 2105ο 2127ο 2138ο 2197ο 2248ο 2298ο 2400ο 2464ο 2482ο 2516ο 2523ο 2576ο 2674ο 2736ο 2772ο; τοις μη ιδοσιν 010ο 012ο; τοις μη ειδωσιν 025ο 915ο 1987\*ο; τοις μη ειδωσιν 0111V; τοις μη ιδωσιν 0150ο; τοις μη ειδωσιν 0278ο 1950ο; τοις μη ειδωσι 38ο 1311ο 1609ο 1935ο; τοις μη ειδωσι 451ο 1729ο; τοις μη ιδωσι 1661ο 1912ο; τοις μη ιδωσι 2104ο 2805ο;

**και τοις μη** ] και τοις μη 0111V; και τοις μη 886V; και τοις μη 1729ο;

**υπακουουσιν** ] υπακουουσι 020ο 044ο 056ο 0142ο 6ο 35ο 61ο 88ο 103ο 104ο 131ο 142ο 203ο 218ο 254ο 256ο 263ο 365ο 384ο 425ο 436ο 442ο 451ο 454ο 455ο 506ο 517ο 582ο 608ο 630ο 720ο 858ο 886ο 915ο 941ο 999ο 1101ο 1115ο 1127ο 1241ο 1352ο 1354ο 1390ο 1398ο 1409ο 1448ο 1456ο 1524ο 1573ο 1609ο 1661ο 1739ο 1798ο 1830ο 1867ο 1881ο 1890ο 1899ο 1918ο 1935ο 1943ο 1947ο 1950ο 1961ο 1962ο 1973ο 1976ο 1977ο 1984ο 1987ο 1991ο 1995ο 2000ο 2002ο 2003ο 2104ο 2105ο 2127ο 2138ο 2197ο 2248ο 2298ο 2400ο 2464ο 2482ο 2492ο 2516ο 2523ο 2544ο 2576ο 2674ο 2736ο 2772ο; υπακουουσιν 010\*f; υπακουεσι 90f; υπακουωσιν 1985ο; υπακουωσι 2102ο; [υ]πακουουσι 2558V;

**υπακουσασιν** ] υπακουσασι 075ο;

**ακουουσιν** ] ακουουσι 606ο;

**τω ευαγγελιω** ] τω ευαγγελιω 88V; τω ευαγγελιω 103ο 620ο 1910ο; τω ευαγγελιω 454ο 2138ο; τω ευαγγελιω 1398ο 1942ο; το ευαγγελιω 1729ο;

## 2 Thessalonians 1:9

**οιτινες** ] οἵτινες 0111V; οἵτιναις 1918ο 2674ο;  
**δικην** ] δι[κην] 0111V; δηκην 1729ο; δικειν 2464ο; δικ[ην] 2558V;  
**τισουσιν** ] τεισουσιν 03ο 2004ο; τεισουσιν 010ο 012ο; τοισουσιν 131ο; τησουσιν 915ο;  
τισουσιν 1976V; τισουσι 1991ο; [τισου]σιν 2558V;  
**ολεθρον** ] ολεθρον 1115V 2736V;  
**ολεθριον** ] ολεθριον 81V;  
**αιωνιον απο προσωπου** ] αιωνιον [απο] προσωπου 0111V; αιωνιον απο προσωπου 1918ο;  
**του κυριου** ] τοῦ κυ 0111V;  
**και** ] καί 2558V;  
**απο** ] ἀπο 81V;  
**της δοξης της ισχυος αυτου** ] της δοξης της ισχυος αυτου 020ο 131ο 1409ο; της δοξης [της] ισχυος αυτου 0111V; της δοξης της ισχυος αυτου 88V; της [δοξης] [της] ισχυος αυτου 2558V;

## 2 Thessalonians 1:10

**οταν ελθῃ** ] οταν ελθῃ 1729f; οταν ελθῃ 1910ο 1942ο; οταν ελθῃ 2464ο;  
**ενδοξασθῆναι** ] ενδοξασθῆναι 010ο; ενδοξασθῆναι 0111V; ενδεξασθῆναι 90f;  
ενδοξασθῆναι 1115V; ενδο[ξασθῆναι] 2558V;  
**εν τοις αγιοις αυτου** ] εν τοις [αγιο]ις αυτου 0111V; εν τοις αγιοις αυτου 1115V; [εν] [τοις] αγιοις αυτου 2558V; εν τοις αγι[οις] [αυτου] 2772V;  
**και** ] [και] 1845V;  
**θαυμασθῆναι** ] [θ]αυμασθῆναι 016V; θαυμαθῆναι 0278\*f; θαυμασθῆναι 6ο 425ο 506ο 915ο 1390ο 1830ο 2104ο 2674ο; θαυμασθῆναι 1918οV; θαυμασθῆναι 2105V;  
**εν πασιν** ] εν πασι 01ο 044ο 056ο 075ο 0142ο 6ο 33ο 35ο 38ο 61ο 81ο 88ο 90ο 103ο 104ο 131ο 142ο 203ο 218ο 254ο 256ο 263ο 330ο 384ο 425ο 436ο 442ο 451ο 454ο 455ο 459ο 506ο 517ο 582ο 608ο 629ο 630ο 720ο 858ο 915ο 941ο 999ο 1101ο 1127ο 1311ο 1352ο 1354ο 1390ο 1398ο 1409ο 1448ο 1456ο 1524ο 1573ο 1609ο 1678ο 1729ο 1739ο 1798ο 1830ο 1867ο 1881ο 1890ο 1899ο 1908ο 1910ο 1918ο 1935ο 1942ο 1943ο 1947ο 1950ο 1961ο 1962ο 1969ο 1973ο 1976ο 1977ο 1984ο 1985ο 1987ο 1991ο 1995ο 2000ο 2002ο 2003ο 2004ο 2104ο 2105ο 2127ο 2138ο 2248ο 2298ο 2400ο 2482ο 2492ο 2516ο 2523ο 2544ο 2558ο 2576ο 2674ο 2736ο 2772ο 2805ο; εν [πασι]ν 0111V; εν παση 365ο 1661ο;  
**επι πασιν** ] επι πασι 606ο;  
**τοις πιστευσασιν** ] τους πιστεισασιν 010f; τοις πι[στ]ευσασιν 016V; τοις πιστευσασι 103ο 455ο 608ο 720ο 1798ο 1935ο 1943ο 1969ο 1973ο 1977ο 1987ο 1991ο 1995ο 2002ο 2104ο 2105ο 2197ο 2482ο 2576ο;  
**τοις πιστευουσιν** ] τοις πιστευουσι 254ο 1448ο 1524ο; της πιστευουσιν 1751ο; τοις πιστευουσιν 1918V; τοις πιστευσωσιν 1984ο; [τοις] πιστευουσιν 2558V;  
**οτι** ] ὅτι 0111V;  
**το μαρτυριον** ] το μαρτυριων 010ο; το [μαρ]τυριον 016V;  
**εφ υμας** ] εφ υμας 1115V;  
**εν τη ημερα εκεινη** ] εν τη [ημ]ερα εκεινη 016V; εν τη ημερᾳ εκεινη 0111V; εν τη ημεραι εκεινη 103ο; εν τη ημεραι εκεινη 454ο; εν τη ημερα εκεινη 1398ο 1910ο 1942ο; εν τη ημερα εκεινη 1947V; εν τη ημερα εκεινη 1962ο; εν τη ημερα εκει[νη] 2464V;

## 2 Thessalonians 1:11

**προσευχομεθα** ] προσευ[χομ]εθα 016V; [προσευ]χομεθα 1947V;  
**και** ] και 06\*V;  
**περι υμων** ] περ υμων 010ο; περι υμων 1947V;  
**υμας αξιωση** ] υμας αξιωση 012ο; υμας αξιωσει 025ο 6ο 104ο 131ο 459ο 1241ο 1311ο 1661ο 1729ο 1751ο 1845ο 1945ο 1985ο 2102ο; υμας εξειωσε 010\*ο; υμας εξειωση 010Co; υμας αξηωση 999ο; υμας αξιωση 1910ο 1942ο 1962ο; υμας αξιωσι 1918ο; υμας αξιωση 1947V; υμας αξιωσει 2464ο; υμας αξιω 1950\*f;  
**ημας αξιωση** ] ημας αξιωσει 38ο 442ο;  
**της κλησεως ο θεος ημων** ] της κλισεως ο θεος ημων 61\*ο 1918ο; της κλησεως ο θεος ημων 1947V; της κ[λη]σεως ο θεος ημων 2464V;  
**της κλησεως ο θεος υμων** ] της κλισεως ο θεος υμων 61Co;  
**της κλησεως υμων ο θεος ημων** ] της κλησεως υμων ο θεος ημων 010ο;  
**και** ] [κα]ι 33V;  
**πληρωση** ] πληρωσι 90ο; πληρωσι 1918ο; πληρωση 1942ο 1962ο; πλη[ρω]ση 2558V;  
**πασαν** ] [πα]σαν 0111V; [πασ]αν 256V;  
**ευδοκιαν αγαθωσυνης** ] ευδοκιαν αγαθοσυνης 06ο 012ο 020ο 025ο 0150ο 0151ο 0278ο 38ο 61ο 81ο 88ο 104ο 131ο 203ο 256ο 263ο 330ο 451ο 582ο 620ο 915ο 999ο 1311ο 1398ο 1409ο 1573ο 1798ο 1830ο 1845ο 1881ο 1912ο 1985ο 2004ο 2102ο 2104ο 2400ο 2492ο 2523ο 2544ο 2558ο 2805ο; ευδοκια[1] αγαθοσυνης 506οV; ευδοκιαν αγαθωσυνης 1115V; ευδοκιαν αγαθοσυνει 1918ο; ευδικιαν αγαθωσυνης 1991fV; ευδοκειαν αγαθοσυνης 2464ο;  
**αγαθωσυνην ευδοκias** ] αγαθοσυνην ευδοκias 1729ο;  
**δυναμει** ] [δυν]αμει P92V; δυ[ναμει] 0111V; δυναμ[ει] 254V;

## 2 Thessalonians 1:12

**οπως** ] [οπως] 0111V;  
**ενδοξασθη** ] ενδοξασθη 454ο 1910ο 1962ο;  
**το ονομα** ] [το] [ονο]μα P92V; το ονομα 1976V;  
**του** ] [του] 0111V;  
**κυριου ημων ιησου** ] [κυ] [ημων] ιησου 0111V;  
**εν υμιν** ] εν υμειν 06Co; εν υμ[ιν] 0111V;  
**και** ] [και] 0111V;  
**υμεις** ] υμει[ς] P92V; υμης 1918ο; υμεις 2736V;  
**εν αυτω** ] εν [αυτω] 0111V; εν αυτωι 103ο 454ο 517ο 620ο 1398ο 1910ο 2138ο; εν αυ[τω] 2005V; εν αυτω 2736V;  
**κατα** ] [κα]τα 0111V;  
**την χαριν** ] την χαρ[ιν] 0111V; την χαρην 1918ο;  
**του θεου** ] [το]υ θυ P92V; [του] θεου 0111V;  
**ημων** ] η[μων] 33V;  
**και** ] κ[αι] 0111V;  
**κυριου ιησου χριστου** ] [κυ] [ιω] χριστου 0111V;  
**κυριου ιησου** ] κυριου ιησου χυ 2558V;

## 2 Thessalonians 2:1

**ερωτωμεν** ] πρωτωμεν 010f; ερω[τωμεν] 0111V; ερωτομεν 88ο; ερωτομεν 1729ο;  
**αδελφοι** ] α[δελφοι] 0111V; αδελφοι 608V;  
**υπερ** ] υ[περ] 0111V;  
**της παρουσιας** ] της [παρου]σι[ας] 0111V; της παρουσης 1918f;  
**του κυριου ημων** ] [τ]ου κυριου [ημων] 0111V;  
**και** ] [και] 0111V; και 1976V;  
**ημων** ] ημωσ 02f; [ημων] 0111V;  
**επισυναγωγης** ] επισυναγωγης 1115V; επισυναγωγεις 2464ο;  
**<lac> αυτον** ] [επ] [αυ]τον 0111V;

## 2 Thessalonians 2:2

**εις το μη** ] εις τ[ο] [μη] 0111V; εις το μη 1943V;  
**ταχεως σαλευθηναι** ] ταχαιως σαλευθηναι 010ο 012ο; [τα]χεως σ[αλευθη] 0111V;  
**απο του νοος** ] α[πο] του νοος 33V;  
**μητε** ] μηται 1729ο;  
**θροεισθαι** ] θροεισθαῖ 1943V;  
**θροεισθε** ] θροησθε 1984ο;  
**θροεισθ[1-2]** ] θροησθ[1-2] 1524ο;  
**μητε** ] μητε 1115V; [μητε] 2772V;  
**μητε** ] μηται 1729ο;  
**δια λογου** ] δια λογ[ου] 203V;  
**μητε** ] μητε 1678V; μητε 2558V;  
**δι επιστολης** ] δι επιστολες 010\*ο; δια επιστολης 720ο; δι εποστολης 2138f;  
**ως οτι** ] [ως] οτι 1678V;  
**ενεστηκεν** ] ενεστικεν 1729ο 2464ο;  
**η ημερα** ] η ημερᾱ 1991V;

## 2 Thessalonians 2:3

**μη τις** ] μη της 38ο 1573ο 1918ο; μη τι[ς] 2464V;  
**υμας** ] υμας 81V; υμας 1991V;  
**εξαπατηση** ] εξαπατησει 025ο 044ο 38ο 103ο 131ο 442ο 459ο 915ο 1311ο 1751ο 1838ο 1908\*ο 1912ο 1995ο 2104ο 2576ο; εξαπατισει 1729ο; εξαπατησῃ 1910ο 1942ο; εξαπατησι 1918ο; εξαπατωσει 1985f 2102f; εξαπατησῃ 1991V; εξαπατεισει 2464ο; εξαπατησῃ 2558V;  
**κατα μηδενα τροπον** ] κατα μεδηνᾱ τροπον 010\*ο; κατα μηδενᾱ [τροπον] 33V; κατα μηδεῖνᾱ τροπον 608V; κατα μηδενε τροπον 1918ο; κατα μηδενᾱ τροπων 2102ο; κατα μηδενᾱ τροπο[ν] 2464V; κατα μηδεῖνᾱ τροπον 2558V;  
**κατα ουδενᾱ τροπον** ] κατ ουδενᾱ τροπον 61ο;  
**οτι** ] [οτι] 33V; οτι 1991V; οτι 2558V;  
**εαν μη** ] εἰ μὴ 1115V 2558V; εαν μη 1977V;  
**ελθη** ] ελθῃ 1910ο 1942ο; ελθῃ 1977V;  
**η αποστασια πρωτον** ] η αποστασια προτον 1838ο; η αποστασια πρωτον 1977V; η αποστασια πρωτον 2558V;  
**αποκαλυφθη** ] αποκαλυφθῇ 0151ο 2464ο; αποκαλυφθῇ 454ο 1910ο 1942ο; αποκαλυφθῇ 2558V;

**ο ανθρωπος** ] ο ανθρωπος 010ο; ο ανος 1115V;  
**της αμαρτίας** ] της αμαρτίας 454ο;  
**της [4-5]ίας** ] [της] [4-5]ίας 2558V;  
**ο υιος** ] [ο] [υς] 33V; ο υς 2558V;  
**της απώλειας** ] της απώλειας 010ο 012ο; της απώλειας 06\*ο 025ο 1908ο; της απώλειας 0151ο 38ο 88ο 915ο 999ο 1241ο 1729ο 1838ο 1918ο 2127ο 2464ο; της απώλειας 1991V;  
της απώλειας 2558V;

## 2 Thessalonians 2:4

**ο αντικειμενος** ] ο αντικειμενος 010\*ο; ο αντικειμενος 858ο; ο αντι[κειμενος] 1729V 2558V;  
**και** ] [και] 2558V;  
**υπεραιρομενος** ] υπερερομενος 02ο 03\*ο; υπεραρομενος 01Cf; υπερερομενος 0278ο; υπεραιρομενος 33V; υπεραιρωμενος 915ο 1845ο 1912ο; υπερ[αιρο]μενος 1751V;  
**λεγόμενον** ] λεγ[όμενον] 33V; λεγόμενον 203ο; λε[γο]μενον 1751V; λεγομε 1918f; [λεγομε]νον 2558V;  
**θεον** ] θεον 1390V; θν 1947V;  
**η** ] ει 1751ο; η 1947V 1991V;  
**σεβασμα** ] σεβασμα 131V; σεβασμα 1947V;  
**ωστε** ] οστε 1935ο 2464ο;  
**εις τον ναον** ] εις τον [ναον] 630V 2558V; εις τον ναον 1947V;  
**του θεου** ] του [θυ] 630V;  
**καθισαι** ] καθησαι 025ο 90ο 915ο 1838ο 2464ο 2492ο 2523ο 2544ο; καθησι 1918f;  
**ως θεον καθισαι** ] ως θεον καθησαι 0150ο 131ο 999ο 1311ο 1845ο; ως θεον καθησε 0278ο; ως θεον καθησαι 38ο 1661ο; [ως] θεον καθισαι 630V; ως θεον καθισαι 1241V; ως θεον καθεισαι 1945ο;  
**καθισαι ως θεον** ] καθησαι ως θεον 608ο 858ο 1751ο; καθισαι ως θεον 2482V;  
**ινα θεον καθισαι** ] ινα θεον καθεισαι 010ο;  
**καθιστησι ως θεον** ] καθιστησι ως θεον 1985ο 2102ο;  
**αποδεικνυντα** ] αποδικνυντα 01ο; αποδιγνυντα 02ο; αποδικνυντα 010ο 012ο; αποδεικνυντα 6ο 38ο 61Co 104ο 218ο 330ο 442ο 451ο 459ο 720ο 1115ο 1127ο 1352ο 1398ο 1739ο 1881ο 2004ο 2400ο 2516ο 2523ο; αποδεικνυντα 88V; αποδεικνυν[1]τε 131f; αποδικνυντα 1678ο; αποδικνειντα 1751ο; αποδεικν[1-2]ντα 1943V; αποδεικν[1-2]ντα 1947V;  
**εαυτον** ] εαυτον 2558V;  
**εστιν θεος** ] εστι θεος 075ο 6ο 35ο 61ο 88ο 90ο 103ο 104ο 131ο 142ο 218ο 254ο 256ο 263ο 330ο 365ο 384ο 425ο 436ο 442ο 451ο 454ο 455ο 517ο 582ο 606ο 608ο 620ο 629ο 630ο 720ο 858ο 915ο 941ο 1101ο 1115ο 1127ο 1352ο 1390ο 1398ο 1448ο 1456ο 1524ο 1573ο 1609ο 1661ο 1678ο 1739ο 1751ο 1798ο 1830ο 1867ο 1881ο 1890ο 1899ο 1910ο 1918ο 1935ο 1943ο 1950ο 1961ο 1962ο 1976ο 1987ο 1991ο 2000ο 2002ο 2003ο 2104ο 2105ο 2127ο 2138ο 2197ο 2298ο 2400ο 2482ο 2492ο 2516ο 2523ο 2558ο 2674ο 2736ο 2772ο;

## 2 Thessalonians 2:5

**ου μνημονευετε** ] ου μνημονευεται 02ο 012ο 025ο 0150ο 0278ο 1838ο 1942\*ο 1977\*ο 2464ο; ου μνημονευετε 1409V 1943V; ου μνημονεβετε 1751ο;  
**ετι** ] αυτι 010f 012f; ετε 1918ο;  
**ων** ] ον 1751ο 2464ο;  
**προς** ] π[ρος] 016V;  
**υμας** ] υμας 1918V 2558V; υμας 1991V;

## 2 Thessalonians 2:6

**και νυν** ] και ν[υν] 016V; και νυν 1991V;  
**το κατεχον** ] το κατεχων 256ο 915ο 1830ο 1838ο; το κατεχον 1991V;  
**οιδατε** ] οιδαται 01ο 010ο 012ο 016ο 025ο 1845ο; υδατε 256ο; ειδατε 1830ο;  
**εις το αποκαλυφθηναι** ] εις το απολυφθηναι 010f; εις το αποκ[α]λυφθηναι 016V; εις το αποκαλυφθηναι 1661ο; εις το αποκαληφθηναι 1838ο; εις το αποκαλυφθηναι 1991V;  
**αυτον** ] αυτον 1991V;  
**εν τω αυτου καιρω** ] εν τω αυτου καιρω 1398ο; εν τω αυτου καιρω 1448ο;  
**εν τω εαυτου καιρω** ] εν τω αυτου κ[αι]ρω 016V; εν τω εαυτου καιρω 103ο; εν τω εαυτου καιρω 517ο; εν τω εαυτου καιρω 1910ο 1942ο;

## 2 Thessalonians 2:7

**το γαρ μυστηριον** ] το γαρ μυστηριων 010\*ο; το γαρ μυστηριων 010Cο; δο γαρ μυστηριον 720f; το γαρ μυστηριον 1942ο;  
**ηδη ενεργειται της ανομιας** ] ηδη ενεργιται της ανομιας 010ο 012ο; ηδη ενε[ρ]γεται της ανομιας 016V; ηδει ενεργειται της ανομιας 38ο; ηδη ενεργειται της ανομιας 1524V; ειδη ενεργειται της ανομιας 1751ο; ηδη ενεργειται της α[2]νομιας 2492f; ηδει ενεργειται της ανομιας 1311\*ο;  
**ηδη ενεργειτε της ανομιας** ] ειδη ενεργειτε της ανομιας 2464ο;  
**μονον** ] μονο[v] 016V;  
**ο κατεχων** ] [ο] [κα]τεχων 016V;  
**αρτι εως** ] αρτι εως 886V; αντι εως 2105\*f;  
**αρτι εως αν** ] αρτει εως αν 010ο 012ο;  
**εκ μεσου γενηται** ] εκ μεσ[ου] [γενη]ται 016V; εκ μεσου γενητε 06\*ο 1751ο 1838ο 1845ο; εκ μεσου γενειται 1573ο;

## 2 Thessalonians 2:8

**τοτε** ] τοται 629ο;  
**αποκαλυφθησεται** ] αποκαλυ[φθησεται] 016V; αποκαλυφθησετε 0150ο; αποκαλυφθειςεται 1661ο; αποκαλυφθησεται 1943V;  
**ο ανομος** ] ο ναμος 010\*f; ο ανομος 1943V;  
**ον** ] αν 90f;  
**ο κυριος ιησους** ] ο κυριος ις 858V;  
**ανελει** ] αναλει 02ο;  
**αναλωσει** ] αναλωσι 0150ο 1918ο; αναλωση 620ο; αγγλωσει 858V; αναλωσει 1127V;

**τω πνευματι** ] το πνευματι 0150ο 81ο 88ο 1751ο 2464ο; τωι πνευματι 103ο 436ο 517ο 1398ο 1910-1ο 1910-2ο 1910-3ο;  
**του στοματος** ] του στοματος 2558V;  
**καταργησει** ] καταργισει 06\*ο; ταργεσει 010\*f; καταργηση 0150ο 38ο 999ο 1739ο; καταργησι 1918ο;  
**τη επιφανεια** ] τη επιφανιω 02f; τη επιφανια 06\*ο 010ο 012ο 025ο 0150ο 33ο 90ο 384ο 1838ο 1912ο 1918ο 1945ο 2544ο; τη επιφανειαι 103ο; τη επιφανειαι 1962ο; τη επιφανεια 2558V; τη επιφανεια 1910-1ο 1910-2ο;  
**της παρουσιας** ] της παραυσιας 010f;

## 2 Thessalonians 2:9

**ου εστιν** ] ου εστι 104ο 256ο 365ο 629ο;  
**κατ ενεργειαν του σατανα** ] κατ ενεργιαν του σατανα 01ο 06ο 010ο 012ο 38ο 1838ο 2482ο;  
**εν παση δυναμει** ] εν παση δυναμι 01ο 06\*ο; εν παση δυναμει 103ο 1398ο 1910-2ο 1942ο 1962ο; εν πασι δυναμει 131ο; εν πασι δυναμει 1573ο; εν πασει δυναμει 1838ο; εν παση δυναμει 2558V;  
**σημειοις και τερασιν ψευδους** ] σημιοις και τερασιν ψευδους 01ο 06\*ο 1751ο 1945ο; σημιοις και τερασι ψευδους 020ο 044ο 056ο 0142ο 6ο 33ο 35ο 38ο 61ο 81ο 88ο 90ο 103ο 104ο 131ο 142ο 203ο 218ο 254ο 263ο 330ο 365ο 384ο 425ο 436ο 442ο 451ο 454ο 455ο 506ο 517ο 582ο 606ο 608ο 629ο 630ο 720ο 858ο 886ο 915ο 941ο 999ο 1101ο 1127ο 1311ο 1352ο 1354ο 1390ο 1398ο 1448ο 1456ο 1524ο 1609ο 1661ο 1678ο 1739ο 1798ο 1830ο 1838ο 1867ο 1881ο 1890ο 1899ο 1910-2ο 1912ο 1935ο 1943ο 1947ο 1950ο 1961ο 1962ο 1969ο 1973ο 1976ο 1977ο 1984ο 1985ο 1987ο 1991ο 1995ο 2000ο 2002ο 2003ο 2004ο 2102ο 2104ο 2105ο 2138ο 2197ο 2248ο 2298ο 2400ο 2482ο 2492ο 2516ο 2523ο 2544ο 2558ο 2576ο 2772ο 2805ο; σημιοις και τερασι ψευδους 025ο 2464ο 2674ο; σημιοις και τεραση ψευδους 0150ο; σημιοις και τερασει ψευδους 0278ο; σημιοις [και] τερασι ψευδους 256οV;  
**σημειοις και τερασιν φαινοι** ] σημιοις και τερασιν φαινοι 1573ο;

## 2 Thessalonians 2:10

**εν παση απατη** ] εν παση απατη 103ο 1910ο 1942ο; εν πασι απατη 131ο; εν παση απατη 1115V; εν παση απατη 1962ο; εν παση απατη 1976V; εν πασει απατει 2464ο; εν παση απαση 451\*f;  
**αδικιας** ] αδικειας 0278ο 2464ο;  
**της αδικιας** ] τη αδικιας 330f; της αδικειας 1751ο;  
**τοις απολλυμενοις** ] τοις απολλυμεοις 010f; τοις απολυμενοις 33ο 2464ο;  
**εν τοις απολλυμενοις** ] εν τοις απολυμενοις 131ο 915ο 1398ο 1881ο; εν [τοις] απολλυμενοις 1409V; εν τοις λαλυμενοις 1661f; εν τοις απωλλυμενοις 1751ο; εν τοις απολλοιμενοις 1838ο 1845ο; εν τοις απ[ολλυμενοις] 2492V; εν τοις απολλυμενοις 2558V;  
**ανθων** ] ανθων 1115V;  
**την αγαπην** ] την αγαπιν 2464ο; την αγαπ[ην] 2492V;  
**ου και δοξασθαι της αληθειας** ] ου και δοξασθαι της αληθειας 1751ο;  
**της αληθειας** ] της αληθειας 06\*ο 010ο 012ο 025ο; της αληθε[ι] 88f; της αληθειας 1751ο 1918ο; της αληθας 1838f; [της] [α]ληθειας 2492V;  
**ουκ εδεξαντο** ] ουκ εδεξαντος 90f; ουκ εδεξαντο 1409V;



εις το σωθῆναι ] <lac> σωθῆναι 02\*V; εις το σωθῆναι 010\*o; εις το σω[θῆναι] 720V; εις το σωθῆναι 1976V; εις τω σωθῆναι 2464o; εις το [σω]θῆναι 2492V;

## 2 Thessalonians 2:11

και δια τουτο ] αι δια τουτο 1962f;  
ενεργειαν πλανης ] ενεργιαν πλανης 06\*o 010Co 012o 025o 1838o 2464o; ενεργιαν πλανες 010\*o; ενεργεια πλανης 90f; ενεργειαν πλα[νης] 2558V;  
πιστευσαι ] πιστευσε 1751o; πιστευσι 1918f;  
τω ψευδει ] τω ψευδι 06\*o 425o; τω ψευδη 620o 1918o 2102o; το ψευδει 915o 1751o 2464o; τωι ψευδη 1398o; το ψευδη 1912o; τωι ψευδει 1962o;

## 2 Thessalonians 2:12

κριθωσιν ] κριθωσι 020o 044o 056o 075o 0142o 6o 35o 61o 88o 90o 103o 131o 254o 256o 263o 365o 384o 425o 436o 454o 455o 517o 582o 606o 608o 629o 630o 720o 858o 886o 915o 941o 999o 1101o 1354o 1390o 1409o 1448o 1456o 1524o 1573o 1609o 1661o 1751o 1798o 1830o 1867o 1890o 1899o 1908o 1910o 1918o 1947o 1961o 1969o 1973o 1976o 1977o 1984o 1985o 1991o 1995o 2000o 2002o 2003o 2102o 2105o 2127o 2197o 2248o 2298o 2482o 2523o 2576o 2674o 2772o; κρι[θωσιν] 2558V;  
οι μη ] οι με 010\*o; οι μη 1961V; οι [μη] 2492V;  
πιστευσαντες ] πιστευσαντες 1991V;  
τη αληθεια ] τη αληθια 06\*o 010o 012o; τηι αληθειαι 103o 1910o; τηι αληθεια 1398o 1962o; τη αλληθεια 1751o; τη αληθεια 1947V; [τη] [α]ληθεια 2558V;  
αλλ ] αλλα 01o 03o; αλ 2464o;  
ευδοκησαντες ] ευδοκесαντης 010\*o; ευδοκησαντης 010Co; ευδοκисαντες 88o 365o 425o 915o 1845o 2805o;  
τη αδικια ] τη αδικεια 01\*o 2104Co 2464o; εν τη [3-4]ια 38V; τηι αδικiai 103o;  
εν τη αδικια ] εν τη αδικεια 01Co 1751o 1945o; εν τηι αδικια 620o 1910o;  
επι τη αδικια ] επι τη αδικεια 2004o;

## 2 Thessalonians 2:13

ημεις ] ημις 06\*o;  
οφειλομεν ] οφιλομεν 01o 02o 06\*o 010o 012o 025o 90o 1918o 1945o 2464o; ωφειλομεν 075o; οφειλωμεν 131o 1115o 1751o 1838o 2104o;  
ευχαριστην ] ευχαριστιν 01o 06\*o; ευχαριστειν 010o 012o; ευχαριστη 1751f; ευχαριστην 2464o; ευχαριστ[ειν] 2558V;  
παντοτε ] παντωτε 1311o; [παντο]τε 2558V;  
υμων ] υμιν 1918f;  
ηγαπημενοι ] ηγαπομενοι 1918o; ηγαπημενοι 1943V; ηγαπημενοι 2464V; ηγαπημε[νοι] 2558V;  
υπο κυριω ] απω κυριω 010Cf;  
ειλατο ] ιδατο 010fo; ιλατο 012o;  
ειλετο ] ηλετο 1838o;  
ο θεος ] [ο] [θς] 2464V;  
απαρχην ] απαρχειν 2004o; [απα]ρχην 2464V;  
απ αρχης ] απ αρχεις 1751o;

**σωτηριαν** ] σωτηρειαν 012ο;  
**εν αγιασμω πνευματος** ] εν αγιασμω [πνς] 02V; εν αγιασμωι πνευματος 454ο 517ο 1910ο;  
εν αγιασμω πνευματος 1918V; εν αγιασμω πνς 1976V; [εν] [α]γιασμω πνευματος 2558V;  
**πιστει αληθειας** ] πιστι αληθειας 01ο; πιστι αληθιας 06\*ο 010Co 012ο; πιστι αλεδιας  
010\*fo;

## 2 Thessalonians 2:14

**εις ο** ] ις ο 1987ο; εις ο 1991V; εις ο 2558V;  
**εκαλεσεν** ] [εκα]λεσεν 02V; εκαλεσεν 1991V; εκ[αλε]σεν 2558V;  
**δια του ευαγγελιου** ] δια του ευαγγ[ελιου] 02V; δι του ευαγγελιου 1947ο; δια του  
ευαγγελιου 2464ο;  
**ημων** ] ημ[ων] 630V;  
**εις περιποιησιν** ] εις περιποιησι 88ο 455ο; εις π[ερι]ποιησιν 2558V;  
**δοξης του κυριου** ] δ[οξης] του κυριου 02V; δοξης του κυριου 016V; δοξ[ης] [του] κυ  
630V;  
**ημων** ] ημω[v] 630V;  
**ιησου χριστου** ] ιησου χυ 2464V;

## 2 Thessalonians 2:15

**αρα ουν** ] [αρ]α ουν 016V; αρα ουν 1976V; αρα [ουν] 2558V;  
**αδελφοι** ] [α]δελφοι 2005V;  
**στηκετε και κρατειτε τας παραδοσεις** ] στηκετε κα[ι] [κρα]τειτε τας παραδοσεις 02V;  
στηκετε και κρατειτε τας παραδοσεις 016V; στηκετε και κρατειτε τας παραδοσις 06\*ο;  
στεκεται και κρατειτε τας παραδοσις 010\*ο; στηκεται και κρατειτε τας παραδοσις 010Co  
012ο; στηκετε και κρατειτε τας παραδωσεις 0151ο 254ο 915ο 1456ο 1912ο 2523ο 2805ο;  
στηκετε και κρατειται τας παραδοσεις 33ο 629ο 1661ο 1918ο; στηκετε και κρατητε τας  
παραδοσεις 104ο 459ο 2104ο; στηκεται και κρατειται τας παραδωσεις 131ο; στηκεται και  
κρατειτε τας παραδωσεις 1311ο; στηκετε και κρατητε τας παραδωσεις 1409ο; στηκεται και  
κρατειται τας παραδοσεις 1751ο; στηκετε και κρατειτε τας παραδωσις 1838ο; στηκετε και  
κρατιται τας παραδοσεις 1945ο; στηκετε και κρατειτε τας παραδοσεις 1991V; στηκεται και  
κρατειτε τας παραδοσεις 2004ο; στηκεται και κρατιτε τας παραδοσης 2464ο; στηκετε και  
κρατειτε τας παρα[δο]σεις 2558V; στηκετε και κρατειτε τας παραδοσις 2674ο;  
**ας εδιδαχθητε** ] ας εδι[δαχθη]τε 02V; ας εδιδαχθηται 010ο 012ο; ας εδειδαχθητε 06\*ο  
0278ο 915ο; ας εδηδαχθηται 1751ο;  
**ειτε** ] ητε 104Co 1838ο 2104ο; ειται 1751ο;  
**δια λογου** ] δια λογο 1918f; δια λογου 1976V; δια λογου 1991V;  
**ειτε δι επιστολης** ] ειτε δι επι[στο]λης 02V; ειτε [δ]ι επιστολης 016V; ειται δι επιστολης  
1751ο; ητε δι επιστολης 1838ο; ειτε δι επιστολης 1991V; ειτε δι εποστολης 2102f;  
**ειτε δι επιστολων** ] ητε δι επιστολων 2104ο;  
**ημων** ] ημω[v] 2464V;

## 2 Thessalonians 2:16

**αυτος δε ο κυριος** ] αυτος δε ο [κς] 016V; [α]υτος δε ο κυριος 1798V;  
**ημων** ] η[μων] 02V; [η]μων 016V;  
**και** ] και 88V 1115V;  
**ο θεος και πατηρ** ] ο θεος και πατηρ 2464V;  
**ο αγαπησας** ] ο [αγα]πησας 02V; [ο] [αγαπη]σας 016V;  
**δους** ] δους 1943V;  
**παρακλησιν** ] παρακ[λη]σιν 02V; παρακλη[σιν] 016V; παρακλησι 90ο 425ο; παρακλησιν 1943V;  
**και ελπιδα** ] και ελπειδα 010ο 012ο;  
**αγαθην** ] αγαθ[ην] 02V; αγαθην 2558V;  
**εν χαριτι** ] εν χαρειται 010ο 012ο; εν [χαριτι] 016V; εν χαριτη 1751ο 2674ο; εν χαρητι 1838ο 2104ο; ε[ν] χαρητι 2464οV; εν χαριτι 2558V;

## 2 Thessalonians 2:17

**παρακαλεσαι** ] [παρακα]λεσαι 016V; παρακελεσαι 90ο; παρακαλεσε 620ο 1918ο;  
**παρακαλεση** ] παρακληση 010f; παρακαληση 012\*ο;  
**υμων τας καρδιας** ] υμων τας καρδια 06f; υμων τας <lac>; 016V; υμων τας καρδι 2104f; υμων τας καρδ[ι]ας 2464V; υμων τας καρδιας 2558V;  
**τας καρδιας υμων** ] τας καρ[δι]ας υμων 02V;  
**στηριξαι** ] στυρειξαι 1751ο; στειριξαι 2492ο;  
**εν παντι** ] εν παντι 1947V;  
**εργω και λογω αγαθω** ] εργω και λογω αγαθω 103ο; εργω και λογω αγαθω 1398ο; εργω και λογω αγα[θω] 2464V;  
**λογω και εργω αγαθω** ] λογω και εργω αγαθω 517ο 1910ο; λογω και εργω αγαθω 941V;

## 2 Thessalonians 3:1

**το λοιπον** ] τω λοιπον 90ο; το λοιπων 1751ο 1838ο; το λοιπον 2464V;  
**λοιπον** ] ποιπον 010f;  
**προσευχεσθε περι ημων αδελφοι** ] προσευχεσθαι περι ημων αδελφοι 06\*ο 0278ο 1845ο;  
**προσευχεσθε αδελφοι** ] προσευχεσθαι αδελφοι 01ο 06\*ο 0278ο 38ο 131ο 365ο 506ο 1390ο 1573ο 1751ο 1845ο 2104ο 2464ο; προσευχεσθε αδε[λφοι] 2558V;  
**αδελφοι προσευχεσθε** ] αδελφοι προσευχεσθαι 010ο 012ο;  
**κυριου** ] κυ 1961V;  
**τρεχη και δοξαζεται** ] τρεχη και δοξαζητε 02ο 06ο 131ο; τρεχη και δοξασηται 012ο; τρεχει και δοξαζεται 020ο 582ο 1456ο 1838ο 1912ο 1985ο; τρεχε και δοξασηται 010\*ο; τρεχη και δοξασηται 010Co; τρεχη και δοξαζεται 0278ο 6ο 203ο 506ο 2674ο; τρεχει και δοξαζεται 38ο 88ο 365ο 915ο 1115ο 1573ο 1751ο 1798ο 1845ο 1881ο 1918ο 1945ο 2005ο 2102ο 2104ο 2127ο 2516ο; τρεχη και δοξαζεται 81V; τρεχη και δοξαζηται 1910ο; τρεχη και δοξαζεται 1962ο; τρεχει και δοξαζητε 2004ο 2464ο; τρεχη και [δο]ξαζεται 2558V; τρεχη και δοξαζητ[2] 2576ο;  
**καθως και** ] καθος και 010ο;

## 2 Thessalonians 3:2

**ινα ρυσθωμεν απο των** ] ινα ρισθωμεν απο των 010ο 1751ο; ινα ρυσθωμεν απο των 1910ο; ινα ρυσθωμεν απο τον 1918ο; ινα ρυσθωμεν απο τω[v] 2492V; ινα ρυσθωμεν απο των 2558V;  
**ατοπων** ] ατοπω 436f; ατοπον 1838ο;  
**και** ] [κ]αι 2492V;  
**πονηρων ανθρωπων ου γαρ** ] πονερον ανθρωπων ου γαρ 010\*ο; πονηρων αγωγ ου γαρ 2558V;  
**παντων** ] παντ[ων] 2492V;  
**η** ] [η] 1751V;  
**πιστις** ] πιστεις 1751ο 2464ο; πιστης 1918ο;

## 2 Thessalonians 3:3

**πιστος δε** ] πιστος δε 2558V;  
**εστιν ο κυριος** ] εστι ο κυριος 941ο;  
**εστιν <lac>** ] εστιν [ο] [κς] 2558V;  
**ος** ] ος 1390V;  
**οστις** ] ωστις 2102ο;  
**στηριξει** ] στηρισει 03ο; στηριξη 0278ο 1912Cο; στηρυξει 1751ο; στηριξε 1918ο; στηριξοι 1947ο; [3]ριξει 2492V;  
**φυλαξει** ] φυλαξι 90ο; φυλασει 61\*ο; φυλαξοι 1127ο; φυλαξη 1912ο;  
**απο του πονηρου** ] απο του πονερου 010\*ο; απο του πονηρου 1678V; απο του πονηρου 2464V;

## 2 Thessalonians 3:4

**πεποιθαμεν** ] πεποιδαμεν 010f; [πεποι]θαμεν 2464V; πεποιμε[2] 2576\*f;  
**εν κυριω εφ υμας** ] εν κυριω ευφ υμας 999f;  
**παραγγελλομεν** ] παραγγελομεν 1961ο;  
**παραγγελλομεν υμιν** ] παραγγελλωμεν υμιν 010ο 104ο 131ο 459ο 1751ο 1838ο 1881ο 1918ο 2104ο; [παραγ]γελλομεν υμιν 025V; παραγγελομεν υμιν 142ο 425ο 915ο 1398ο 1908ο 2002ο 2464ο; παραγγελωμεν υμιν 620ο 1311ο;  
**υμιν παραγγελλομεν** ] υμιν παραγγελομεν 629ο;  
**και ποιειτε και ποιησετε** ] και ποιειτε και ποιησεται 020ο 256ο 915ο 1845ο 2482ο; και ποιητε και ποιησετε 0150ο 81ο 330ο 451ο 1398ο 1935ο; και ποιειται και ποιησετε 0151ο; και ποιειτε και ποιησητε 33ο 2104ο 2516ο; και ποιειται και ποιησεται 1751ο; και ποιητε και ποιησεται 2400ο 2464ο; και ποιειτε και ποιησετ[1-2] 1961\*ο;  
**ποιειτε και ποιησετε** ] ποιειτε και ποιησεται 02ο 6ο; ποιητε και ποιησεται 629ο;  
**και ποιειτε και ποιησατε** ] και ποιητε και ποιησατε 38ο 1573ο 1838ο;  
**και εποιησατε και ποιειτε** ] και εποιησεται και ποιειται 012ο;  
**και ποιειτε** ] και ποιητε 90ο 1912ο;  
**και ποιειτε και ποιησ[3]** ] και ποιειται και ποιησ[ετε] 2492ο;  
και <lac> [5-6]τε ] και [ποιειτε] [και] [ποιησε]ται 025ο;

## 2 Thessalonians 3:5

**ο δε κυριος** ] ο δε κυριος κυριος 459f;  
**κατευθυναι** ] κατευθηναι 203ο 506ο 915ο 1838ο 1935ο;  
**ημων τας καρδιας** ] ημων τας καρδειας 2464ο;  
**εις την αγαπην του θεου** ] εις την αγαπην του θεου 33V; εις την αγαπην του θεου 1976V;  
εις την [αγαπην] [του] θυ 2558V;  
**την υπομονην του** ] την υπομονην του 1751ο; την υπομονην του 2558V;

## 2 Thessalonians 3:6

**παραγγελλομεν** ] παραισγγελλομεν 010f; παραιγγελλομεν 012f; παραγγελομεν 365ο 451ο 620ο 629ο 1881ο 1908ο 1918ο; παραγγελλωμεν 1838ο 2127ο; παραγγελωμεν 2104ο;  
[παραγγε]λλομεν 2558V;  
**παραγγελλω** ] παραγγελλο 0142ο; παραγγελω 131ο;  
**αδελφοι** ] αδελφοι 720V; αδελφοι 2558V;  
**εν ονοματι** ] εν ονοματι 88V; εν ονομα[τι] 2558V;  
**του κυριου ημων ιησου χριστου** ] του κυριου η[μων] ιησου χριστου 33V; [τ]ου κυ ημων ιησου χριστου 2558V;  
**στελλεσθαι** ] στελλεσθε 0278ο 81ο 330ο 425ο 451ο 629ο 1398ο 1838ο 1947ο 1985ο 2492ο 2516ο; τελλεσθαι 720f; στελεσθαι 1456ο 1751ο 1881ο 1918ο 2464ο; στελλεσθαι 2558V;  
**υμας** ] υμεις 2102f; υμας 2558V;  
**παντος** ] παντας 2003f; παντος 2558V;  
**αδελφου** ] αδελφοι 010f; αδελφω 38V;  
**ατακτως περιπατουντος** ] ατακτος περιπατουντος 1751ο 1838ο 2464ο; ατακτως περιπατουντος 1984V; ατακτως περιτουντος 2674f;  
**ατακτως περιπατουντες** ] ατακτος περιπατουντες 010ο;  
**και μη κατα την παραδοσιν** ] και μη κατα την παραδωσιν 025ο 203ο 256ο 506ο 915\*ο 1311ο 1573ο 1751ο 1942\*ο 2523ο 2805ο; και μη κατα την παραδοσιν 254V; και μη κατα την παραδωσιν 1354V; και μη κατα την παραδωσιν 1838οV; και μη κατα την παραδωνιν 2104\*f;  
**παρελαβουσαν** ] παρελαβωσαν 1751ο;  
**παρελαβον** ] παρελαβων 1115ο; παρε[λα]βον 2558V;  
**παρελαβετε** ] παρηλαβεται 010\*ο; παρελαβεται 010Co 012ο 2464ο;  
**παρελαβεν** ] παρελαβε 1962ο 2002ο 2482ο;

## 2 Thessalonians 3:7

**αυτοι γαρ** ] [αυτ]οι γαρ 630V;  
**οιδατε** ] οιδαται 01ο 010ο 012ο 025ο 629ο 1918ο; [4]τε 630V; ειδατε 1751ο;  
**πως δει μιμεισθαι** ] πως δει μιμισθαι 01ο 0278ο; πως δι μιμεισθε 02ο; πως δει μειμεισθαι 03ο 010ο 012ο; πως δει μεισθαι 06\*f; πως δει μιμησθαι 0150ο 2464ο; πως δει μιμεισθε 915ο 1661ο 2516ο; πως δει μημεισθαι 1311ο; πως δη μημεισθαι 1751ο; πως δει μημεισθαι 1838ο 1845ο 2004ο; πως δε μιμεισθε 2400fo; πως δει μιμεισθαι 2558V;  
**πως μιμεισθαι** ] πως μιμεισθε 2127ο;  
**ητακτησαμεν** ] ητακτεσαμεν 010\*ο; ητακτισαμεν 1751ο 1935ο 2127ο; ιτακτισαμεν 1838ο;  
**εν** ] εν 2558V;  
**υμιν** ] υμειν 06\*ο; υμιν 620V; υμιν 2558V;

## 2 Thessalonians 3:8

**ουδε** ] ουδε 608V;  
**δωρεαν** ] δωρεαν 1830ο; δωραιαν 1945ο;  
**αρτον εφαγομεν** ] αρτον εφαγωμεν 506ο 620ο 1751ο 1838ο 2104ο 2127ο; αρτον εφαγομεν 1918V;  
    **αρτον ελαβομεν** ] αρτον ελαβωμεν 1115ο;  
    **αρτου εφαγομεν** ] αρτου εφαγαμεν 2102ο;  
**παρα** ] παρὰ 2558V;  
**αλλ** ] αλλα 0278ο;  
**εν** ] εν 0151ο;  
**κοπω και μοχθω** ] κωπο και μοχθω 010ο; κοπω και μ[8] 025V; κοπω και μοχθωι 454ο 2138ο; κοπωι και μοχθωι 517ο 1910ο; κοπωι και μοχθω 1398ο; κοπω και μοχθο 1830ο; κοπα και μοχθωι 1962fo;  
**νυκτος και ημερας** ] νυκτος και ημερα 1729f;  
    **νυκτα και ημεραν** ] νυκταν και ημεραν 131f 454f 2104f; νυκτα και ημερα 1115f 1943f; νυκτα και η[μ]εραν 1751V; νυκτα και ημεραν 2558V;  
**εργαζομενοι** ] εργαζομενι 010f; ε[ργαζο]μενοι 025V; εργαζωμενοι 1838ο;  
**προς το** ] προς το 1912V;  
**μη** ] με 010\*ο;  
**επιβαρησαι** ] επιβ[αρησαι] 016V; επιβαρησε 0278ο 2464ο; επιβαρεισαι 38ο 1751ο 1838ο; επιβαρεσαι 61Co; επιβαρρησε 1918ο; εβαρησαι 2002f; επιβαρισαι 2127ο; επιβαρησαι 2558V;  
**τινα** ] τεινα 010ο 012ο;

## 2 Thessalonians 3:9

**ουχ οτι** ] οχ οτι 1573f; [ο]υχ οτι 1838V;  
**ουκ εχομεν εξουσιαν** ] ουκ εχομε[ν] [εξου]σιαν 016V; ουκ εχομεν εξουσιαν 33V; ουκ εχομεν εξουσιαν 517V; ουκ εχομεν εξουσιαν 1943V; ουκ εχομεν εξουσιαν 2558V; ουκ εχωμεν εξουσι 1729\*fo; ουκ εχωμεν εξουσιαν 1729Co 1838ο 2104ο;  
**αλλ ινα** ] αλλ ιν 61ο; αλλ ινα 1977V;  
**εαυτους τυπον** ] εαυτου τυπον 0150\*f; εαυτος τυπον 517f; εαυτους τυπων 1918ο; εαυτους τυπος 1985f 2102f; εαυτους τυπον 2558V;  
**δωμεν** ] δομεν 010\*ο 0150ο 1729ο 2464ο; δωιμεν 1910f; δωσωμεν 2492f;  
**υμιν** ] υμιν 1943V; υμεις 1985f 2102f;  
**εις το μιμεισθαι** ] εις το μιμεισθαι 01ο 06\*ο 016ο 0278ο; εις το μιμεισθε 02ο 915ο 1729\*ο 2127ο; εις το μειμεισθαι 03ο 010ο 012ο; εις το μιμησθαι 0150ο 90ο 999ο 1311ο 2464ο; εις το μημεισθαι 263ο 1751ο 2004ο; εις το μιμεισθαι 1943V; εις το μιμεισθαι 1977V; εις το μιμεισθαι 2005V; εις τι μιμεισθαι 2102f; εις το μιμεισθ[αι] 2492V; εις το μιμεισθαι 2558V;  
**ημας** ] ημας 1962V;

## 2 Thessalonians 3:10

**και** ] [κ]α[ι] 016V; και 2464V;

**γαρ** ] [γ]α[ρ] 016V;

**οτε** ] [ο]τε 016V;

**ημεν προς υμας** ] ημιν προς υμας 1838f; ημεν προς υμας 2558V;

**ημεν προς ημας** ] υμιν προς ημας 1729f;

**τουτο παρηγγελλομεν υμιν** ] τουτ[ο] [παρηγγελ]λομεν υμιν 016V; τουτο παρηγγελομεν υμιν 03\*ο 330ο 451ο 620ο 629ο 1995ο; τουτο παραγγελλομεν υμιν 06\*fo; τουτο παρηγγελλομεν υμιν 06Co; τουτο παρεγγελλομεν υμιν 010\*ο 075ο 582ο 999ο 1661ο 1798ο 2102ο; τουτο επαρ[1]γγελλομεν υμιν 81f; τουτο παραγγελλομεν υμιν 90f 384f 915f 1573f 1845f 1985f 2674f; τουτο παρηγγελλομεν υμιν 1352ο; τουτο παρηγγελλωμεν ημιν 1751ο; τουτο παρηγγελλομεν υμιν 1973V; τουτο π[4-5]ελλομεν υμιν 1991V; τουτο παρηγγελλομεν υμιν 2248V; τουτο πα[ρηγγελλ]ωμεν υμιν 2464οV; τουτο παρηγγελλωμεν υμιν 1729\*ο; τουτο παρηγγελλωμεν υμιν 1729Co 1838ο; τουτο παρηγγελλομεν υμιν 2003\*f;

**τουτο παρηγγειλαμεν υμιν** ] τουτο παρηγγειλαμεν υμιν 010Co 012ο 442ο; τουτο παρηγγειλαμεν υμιν 2127ο;

**παρηγγελλομεν υμιν τουτο** ] παρηγγελλωμεν υμιν τουτο 2104ο;

**οτι** ] οτ[ι] 016V;

**ει** ] η 88ο 915ο 1838ο 1918ο 1950ο; ει 2104V 2558V;

**τις** ] τις 1943V; τις 2558V;

**ου** ] ου 2558V;

**μη** ] μη 06\*V;

**θελει** ] θελη 020ο 81ο 915ο 1661ο 1838ο 1845ο 1918ο;

**εργαζεσθαι** ] εργαζεσθε 01ο 03\*ο 2004ο; εργαζεσθαι 010ο; [ερ]γα[ζεσθαι] 016V;

**μηδε** ] μεδε 010\*ο; μηδε 0278f; μηδε 1241V; μηδε 1943V;

**εσθιετω** ] εσθιετω 010ο 012ο; εσθιετ[ω] 33V; αισθιε[τω] 256οV; εσθιετω 630ο; εσθηετω 1311ο 2464ο; αισθιετω 2104ο;

## 2 Thessalonians 3:11

**ακουομεν** ] [ακου]ομεν 02V; ακουωμεν 1456ο 1661ο 1751ο 1918ο 1962ο 2000ο 2104ο 2127ο; ακουμεν 1729f; ακουομεν 2558V;

**τινας περιπατουντας εν υμιν ατακτως** ] τινας περιπατουν[τας] [ε]ν υμιν ατακτως 02V; τεινας περιπατουντας εν υμιν ατακτως 010ο 012ο; τινος περιπατουντας εν υμιν ατακτως 88f; τινας περιπατουντας εν υμιν ατακτος 1751ο; τινας περιπατουντως εν υμιν ατακτως 1918f; τινας περιπατουντας εν υμιν ατακτως 1962V; τινας περιπατουντας εν υμιν ατακτως 2558V;

**τινας εν υμιν ατακτως περιπατουντας** ] τινας εν υμιν ατακτως περιπατουντας 459V; τινας εν υμιν ατακτος περιπατουντας 1838ο;

**τινας περιπατουντας εν υμιν ατακτους** ] τινας περιπατουνας εν υμιν ατακτους 1991f;

**μηδεν εργαζομενους** ] μηδεν [εργα]ζομενους 02V; μεδεν εργαζομενους 010\*ο; μηδεν εργαζομενους 941V; μηδεν εργαζωμενους 1838ο 1918ο 2464ο;

**αλλα** ] αλλ[α] 33V;

**περιεργαζομενους** ] περιεργα[ζομ]ενους 02V; περιεργαζομενους 999V; περιεργαζωμενους 1838ο 1918ο 2464ο;

## 2 Thessalonians 3:12

**τοις δε τοιουτοις** ] τοις δε τοιου[τοις] 02V; τοις δε τοιουτ[1]ς 1352f; τοις δε τιουτοις 1751ο 1918ο; ος δε τοιουτοις 1935V;  
**παραγγελλομεν** ] παραγγελλομεν 06ο; παραγγελλομεν 38V; παραγγελλωμεν 104ο 1751ο 1838ο 2104ο; παραγγελομεν 330ο 451ο 620ο 629ο 1881ο 1908ο 1961\*ο 2138ο; παραγγελλομεν 459ο; παραγγελωμεν 1918ο 2464ο;  
**και παρακαλουμεν** ] και παρακα[λου]μεν 02V; και παρακαλουμεν 1947V;  
**εν κυριω ιησου χριστω** ] εν κυριω ιησου χριστου 1838f;  
**δια του κυριου ημων ιησου χριστου** ] [δια] [του] κυ ημων ιησου [χυ] 2558V;  
**ινα μετα ησυχιας** ] ινα μετα [ησ]υχιας 02V; ινα μεθ ησυχιας 256ο 365ο 606ο 1573ο 1910ο 1969ο 2127ο; ινα μετα [1]συχιας 1352V; ινα μετα ησυχειας 2464ο;  
**ησυχιας** ] ισυχιας 1918ο;  
**εργαζομενοι** ] εργαζομενοι 1311ο 1838ο 1918ο 2464ο 2516ο; εργαζομενοι 1976V; [εργαζο]μενοι 2558V;  
**τον εαυτων αρτον** ] τον εαυ[των] αρτον 02οV; τον εαυτον αρτον 010ο 012ο 263ο 425ο 436ο 459ο 629ο 915ο 1456ο 1729ο 1751ο 1838ο 1845ο 1945ο 2004ο 2104ο 2197ο 2464ο 2576ο 2805ο; των εαυτων αρτον 1912ο; τον εαυτον αρτον 1918V;  
**τον αυτων αρτον** ] τον αυτων αρτον 1241V;  
**εσθιωσιν** ] αισθειωσιν 010ο 012ο; εσθιουσιν 025ο 33ο 88ο 90ο 103ο 384\*ο 915ο 999ο 1838ο 1947ο 1973ο; εσθιωσι 075ο 454ο 629ο 1867ο 1918ο 1969ο 2104ο; εσθιοσιν 1830ο; εσθιωσιν 2004οV; ε[σθιωσιν] 2558V;

## 2 Thessalonians 3:13

**υμεις** ] υμεις 06\*ο;  
**αδελφοι** ] [αδ]ελφοι 02V;  
**εγκακησητε** ] ενκακησητε 03\*ο;  
**εκκακησητε** ] εκκακησηται 056ο 0142ο 6ο 81ο 365ο 1751ο; εκκακησειτε 0150ο 2102ο; εκκακησεται 0278ο; εκκακησητε 330ο 451ο 1398ο 2576ο; εκκακησεται κακεισεν[2] 1729f; εκκακησητε 1910ο; εκκακησεται 1985ο 2464ο; εκκακησητε 2003ο; εκκακησετε 2674ο;  
**καλοποιουντες** ] καλο[ποι]ουντες 02V; καλλοποιουντες 33ο 582ο 1241ο 1456ο 1969ο 2576ο; καλωποιουντες 1751ο 2464ο;  
**καλον ποιουντες** ] καλλον ποιουντες 608ο;

## 2 Thessalonians 3:14

**ει δε τις** ] ει δε τις 941V; η δε τις 1912ο; ει δε της 1918ο;  
**ουχ** ] ουχ 941V;  
**υπακουει** ] υπακουη 0150ο; υπακου 1918f; υπακοφει 2464f;  
**τω λογω** ] τω λωγω 010ο; τω λο[γω] 025V; τω λογω 33V; τωι λογωι 103ο 517ο 1910ο 1962ο 2138ο; τω λογω 941V; τωι λογω 1398ο; το λογω 1751ο 2464ο; τ[1] λογω 2104\*f;  
**ημων** ] ημ[ων] 2558V;  
**δια** ] δι 010ο 012ο 608ο 1661ο 1995ο 2544ο;  
**επιστολης** ] [ε]πιστολης 02V; επιστολη[ς] 33V;  
**τουτον** ] τουτον 1977V;



**σημειουσθε** ] σημειουσθε 03\*ο 06Co 1390ο; σημειουσθε 459V; σηουσθε 1935f;  
σημειουσθε 1976V; σημειουσθαι 2464ο; σημειουσθαι 2104Co;  
**μη συναναμιγνυσθαι** ] [μ]η συναναμιγνυσθαι 02V; μη συναναμιγνυσθαι 03ο; μη  
συναμιγνυσθαι 010f 012f; μη συναναμιγνυσθαι 06\*ο; μη συναναμιγνυσθαι 88ο; μη  
συναναμιγνυσθαι 1751ο; μη συναναμιγνυσθαι 2102ο; μη συναναμιγνυσθαι 2464ο;  
**μη συναναμιγνυσθε** ] μη συναναμιγνυσθε 025ο 0151ο 330ο 451ο 620ο 915ο 1398ο  
1661ο 1845ο 1918ο; μη συναναμιγνυσθε 06Co; μη συναναμιγνυσθε 104ο; μη  
συναναμιγνυσθε 61\*ο 1729ο; μη [συνα]ναμιγνυσθε 2558V;  
**αυτω** ] αυτω 103ο 517ο 1398ο 1910ο 1962ο 2138ο;  
**εντραπη** ] εντραπη 454ο 517ο 1962ο; εντραπει 2464ο; εντραπη 2558V;

## 2 Thessalonians 3:15

**και μη** ] και μη 1115V;  
**εχθρον** ] εκθρον 010ο 012ο; εχθρων 1729ο; εχθρον 1976V; εχθον 2674\*f;  
**ηγεισθε** ] ειγισθε 38ο; ηγασθε 1661ο;  
**ηγεισθαι** ] ηγισθαι 06\*ο 2464ο;  
**αλλα νουθετειτε** ] αλλα νουθετιται 01ο; αλλα νουθετειτε 010\*ο; αλλα νουθετειται 0278ο  
629ο; αλλα νουθετι 1729f; αλλα νουθετητε 1751ο 1838ο 1845ο 2464ο; αλλα νουθεται  
1881f; αλλα νουθετειτε 1961V; αλλα νουθετειτε 2558V; αλλα νουθετειτε 2674ο;  
**ως αδελφον** ] ος αδελφον 010\*ο; [ως] αδελφον 459V;

## 2 Thessalonians 3:16

**αυτος** ] υτος 1798f;  
**ο κυριος της ειρηνης** ] ο κυριος της ειρηνης 459V;  
**ο θεος της ειρηνης** ] ο θεος της ειρηνης 010ο; ο θεος της ειρηνης 012ο; ο θεος της  
ειρηνης 254V;  
**δωη** ] δωη 1409V; δωει 1729ο 2104ο 2464ο;  
**ειρηνην** ] ιρηνην 010ο 012ο; ειρηνην 1977V; ειρηνην 2558V;  
**δια παντος εν παντι τροπω** ] δια παντος εν παντι τροπω 142V; δια παντος εν παντι τροπω  
459V; δια παντος εν παντι τροπω 517ο 1910ο 1962ο; δια παντος εν παντι τροπω 1977V;  
δια παντος εν παντι τροπω 2558V;  
**εν παντι τροπω** ] εν παντι τροπω 1398ο;  
**δια παντος εν παντι τοπω** ] δια παντος εν παντι τοπω 33V;  
**ο κυριος μετα παντων** ] ο κυριος μετα παντων 1947V; ο κυριος μετα παντων 1976V; ο κς  
μετα παντων 2558V; ο κς μετα παντων 2736V;

## 2 Thessalonians 3:17

**ο** ] ο 1976V;  
**ασπασμος** ] ασμος 2674\*f;  
**τη** ] τη 103ο 1398ο 1910ο 1942ο;  
**εμη χειρι** ] εμη χειρι 010ο 012ο; εμη χειρι 103ο 1910ο 1942ο; εμη χειρι 1352ο; εμοι χειρι  
1751ο;  
**εστιν** ] εστι 020ο 056ο 0150ο 6ο 35ο 38ο 61ο 88ο 90ο 103ο 104ο 131ο 142ο 218ο 256ο  
330ο 365ο 384ο 425ο 436ο 451ο 454ο 455ο 506ο 517ο 582ο 608Co 620ο 629ο 630ο 720ο  
858ο 915ο 941ο 999ο 1101ο 1127ο 1352ο 1354ο 1390ο 1398ο 1448ο 1456ο 1524ο 1573ο

1609ο 1661ο 1678ο 1739ο 1798ο 1830ο 1867ο 1881ο 1890ο 1899ο 1910ο 1918ο 1935ο  
 1950ο 1962ο 1976ο 1977ο 1984ο 1985ο 1987ο 1995ο 2000ο 2002ο 2003ο 2102ο 2104ο  
 2105ο 2127ο 2138ο 2197ο 2248ο 2298ο 2400ο 2492ο 2516ο 2523ο 2544ο 2558ο 2576ο  
 2674ο 2736ο 2805ο; **εστιν** 1947V; **εστ[1]** 608\*V;  
**σημειον** ] σημιον 01ο 06\*ο 0150ο 2464ο; σημ[ειον] 33V; σημειον 459V; σημειων 1729ο;  
 σιμειον 1751ο;  
**εν** ] ε 1729f;  
**παση** ] παση 103ο 454ο 1910ο 1942ο 1962ο; [πα]ση 459V; πασι 915ο 1729ο; παση  
 2464V;  
**επιστολη** ] επιστολη 103ο 517ο 1352ο 1910ο 1942ο; ε[πι]στολη 630V; επιστολι 1918ο;  
 επιστολη 2464V; επιστολη 2558V;  
**ουτως γραφω** ] ουτως γραφ[ω] 459V; ουτ[ω]ς γραφω 630V; ουτως γραφωι 1398ο 1942ο;  
 ουτως γρα[φω] 1838V; ουτως γραφω 1976V; ουτος γραφω 2464ο; ουτω γραφω 2736ο;  
**ουτως γραφων** ] ουτω γραφων 608Co;

## 2 Thessalonians 3:18

**χαρις του κυριου** ] χαρεις του κυριου 010ο; [χαρ]ις [του] [κυ] 459V;  
**ημων** ] [η]μων 459V; ημων 1352V;  
**ιησου χριστου** ] ιησου χυ 2558V;  
**μετα** ] με[τα] 459V; μετa 1977V;  
**παντων** ] [παν]των 459V;  
**υμων** ] υμων 2464V;

## Subscriptio

**προς θεσσαλονικεις β** ] προς θεσσαλονικεις 01f; προς θεσσαλονικεις β 03\*ο;  
**προς θεσσαλονικεις β εγγραφη απο αθηνων** ] προς θεσσαλονικεις β εγγραφη απο  
 αθηνων 03Co; προς θεσσαλονικεις εγγραφη απο αθηνων 218f; προς θεσσαλονικης β  
 εγγραφη απο αθηνων 442ο; προς θεσσαλονικεις εγγραφη απο αθηνων 1352f; προς  
 θεσσαλονικεις δευτερα εγγραφη απο αθηνων 2298ο;  
**προς θεσσαλονικεις β επιστολη εγγραφη απο αθηνων** ] προς θεσσαλονικεις  
 δευτερα επιστολη εγγραφει απο αθηνων 425ο; προς θεσσαλονικης β επιστολη εγγραφη απο  
 αθηνων 1390ο;  
**προς θεσσαλονικεις β επληρωθη** ] προς θεσσαλονικεις β επληρωθη 06ο;  
**ετελεσθη προς θεσσαλονι β** ] ετελεσθαι προς θεσσαλονι β 010ο;  
**τελος της προς θεσσαλονικεις β επιστολης** ] τελος της προς θεσσαλονικης  
 δευτερας επιστολης 2248ο;  
**τελος παυλου αποστολου επιστολης προς θεσσαλονικεις β ητις εγγραφη απο  
 αθηνων** ] τελος παυλου αποστολου επιστολης προς θεσσαλονικεις δευτερας ητις εγγραφη  
 απο αθηνων 451ο; τελος παυλου αποστολου επιστολης προς θεσσαλονικης δευτερας ητις  
 εγγραφη απο αθηνων 1398ο;  
**τελος της προς θεσσαλονικης β επιστολης παυλου του χριστου αμην** ] τελος της  
 προς θεσσαλονικης δευτερης επιστολης παυλου του χυ αμην 2102ο;  
**του αγιου αποστολου παυλου προς θεσσαλονικεις επιστολη β εγγραφη απο  
 αθηνων** ] του αγιου αποστολου παυλου προς θεσσαλονικεις επιστολη δευτερα εγγραφη  
 απο αθηνων 020ο;  
**αυτη η προς θεσσαλονικεις β επιστολη γραφη απο αθηνων** ] αυτη η προς  
 θεσσαλονικεις δευτερα επιστολη γραφη απο αθηνων 2558ο;



## APPENDIX 2

### BYZANTINE COHERENCE

This appendix provides the relevant data used for Byzantine coherence in Chapter 4 (“A Textual History of 2 Thessalonians”). To begin, I have provided a table that shows (1) the number of distinct Byzantine readings<sup>1</sup> for each manuscript, (2) the number of Byzantine variation units which are extant in the manuscript, and (3) the percentage of these variation units which are Byzantine. I have excluded manuscripts with significant lacunae and omissions.<sup>2</sup> I have also excluded the corrected profiles of manuscripts (e.g., 01C). Following this table, I have listed the Byzantine variation units, their distinct reading, and the manuscripts which support the reading. The conventions for this section follow those in Chapter 2 (“Critical Text and Apparatus”).

**Table A2.1: The Byzantine Coherence of the Manuscripts**

Manuscript	Byzantine Readings	Variation Units	Percentage
01	4	31	12.90%
02	10	31	32.26%
03	4	32	12.50%
06	11	32	34.38%
010	11	32	34.38%
012	11	32	34.38%
018	28	32	87.50%
020	27	32	84.38%
025	16	32	50.00%
044	18	31	58.06%
056	30	32	93.75%
075	20	32	62.50%
0142	30	32	93.75%
0150	24	31	77.42%
0151	30	32	93.75%

<sup>1</sup> A “distinct” Byzantine reading is the majority reading of my “pure” Byzantine manuscripts (35, 517, 999, 1354, 1609) that either (1) departs from the editorial text or (2) has been marked with a ♦. I have still counted readings as Byzantine even if they differ from the Byzantine reading as a result of orthographic confusion between second and third person pronouns (e.g., ἡμῶν vs ὑμῶν).

<sup>2</sup> I repeat here my comments on this matter from Chapter 4: I have excluded any manuscript which is lacunose in more than 55 units with the editorial text. As for omissions, I have excluded manuscripts which *both*, at times, skip multiple verses *and* have an agreement with the editorial text which is less than 84%. Manuscripts with significant lacunae or omissions include P30, P92, 016, 0111, 218, 1729, 1838, 1890, 1910, 1942, 2005, 2138, 2558, 2625, 2736, 2772.

<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Byzantine Readings</b>	<b>Variation Units</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
0278	15	32	46.88%
6	19	32	59.38%
33	5	31	16.13%
35	32	32	100.00%
38	23	32	71.88%
61	25	32	78.13%
81	15	32	46.88%
88	20	32	62.50%
90	28	32	87.50%
103	24	32	75.00%
104	21	32	65.63%
131	29	32	90.63%
142	29	32	90.63%
203	21	32	65.63%
254	26	32	81.25%
256	17	32	53.13%
263	17	32	53.13%
330	18	32	56.25%
365	18	32	56.25%
384	27	32	84.38%
425	31	32	96.88%
436	22	32	68.75%
442	20	32	62.50%
451	17	32	53.13%
454	30	32	93.75%
455	24	32	75.00%
459	22	32	68.75%
506	21	32	65.63%
517	30	32	93.75%
582	27	32	84.38%
606	25	32	78.13%
608	21	31	67.74%
620	28	32	87.50%
629	26	32	81.25%
630	29	32	90.63%
720	28	32	87.50%
858	26	32	81.25%
886	24	32	75.00%
915	23	32	71.88%
941	29	32	90.63%
999	27	32	84.38%
1101	31	32	96.88%
1115	26	32	81.25%
1127	25	32	78.13%
1241	27	32	84.38%
1311	23	31	74.19%
1352	24	32	75.00%

Manuscript	Byzantine Readings	Variation Units	Percentage
1354	30	32	93.75%
1390	26	32	81.25%
1398	18	32	56.25%
1409	28	32	87.50%
1448	31	32	96.88%
1456	29	32	90.63%
1505	20	32	62.50%
1524	26	32	81.25%
1573	20	32	62.50%
1609	30	32	93.75%
1611	20	32	62.50%
1661	30	32	93.75%
1678	27	32	84.38%
1739	10	32	31.25%
1751	24	32	75.00%
1798	25	32	78.13%
1830	27	32	84.38%
1845	16	32	50.00%
1867	28	32	87.50%
1881	14	32	43.75%
1899	30	32	93.75%
1908	20	32	62.05%
1912	10	32	31.25%
1918	24	32	75.00%
1935	25	32	78.13%
1943	27	32	84.38%
1945	26	32	81.25%
1947	25	32	78.13%
1950	25	32	78.13%
1961	24	32	75.00%
1962	24	32	75.00%
1969	23	32	71.88%
1973	26	32	81.25%
1976	25	32	78.13%
1977	26	32	81.25%
1984	23	32	71.88%
1985	21	32	65.63%
1987	25	32	78.13%
1991	23	31	74.19%
1995	26	32	81.25%
2000	24	32	75.00%
2002	25	32	78.13%
2003	27	32	84.38%
2004	27	32	84.38%
2102	22	32	68.75%
2104	25	32	78.13%
2105	26	32	81.25%

Manuscript	Byzantine Readings	Variation Units	Percentage
2127	18	32	56.25%
2138	16	23	69.57%
2197	25	32	78.13%
2248	25	31	80.65%
2298	28	32	87.50%
2400	17	32	53.13%
2464	10	32	31.25%
2482	25	31	80.65%
2492	18	31	58.06%
2516	19	32	59.38%
2523	24	32	75.00%
2544	17	32	53.13%
2576	25	32	78.13%
2674	28	32	87.50%
2805	18	31	58.06%

### Byzantine Variation Units

#### 2 Thess 1:2

(1) → ημων ] ♦ 01, 02, 010, 012, 018, 020, 056, 075, 0151, 0278, 6, 35, 38, 61, 81, 88, 90, 103, 104, 131, 142, 203, 218, 254, 256, 263, 330, 365, 384, 425, 436, 442, 451, 454, 459, 506, 517, 582, 606, 620, 629, 630, 720, 858, 915, 941, 999, 1101, 1115, 1127, 1241, 1311, 1352, 1354, 1390, 1398, 1409, 1448, 1456, 1524, 1573, 1609, 1661, 1678, 1751, 1798, 1830, 1845, 1867, 1890, 1899, 1908, 1918, 1935, 1943, 1945, 1947, 1950, 1962, 1969, 1973, 1977, 1985, 1987, 1991, 1995, 2000, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2105, 2127, 2197, 2248, 2298, 2400, 2464, 2482, 2492, 2516, 2523, 2544, 2558, 2625, 2674, 2736, 2772 2805

#### 2 Thess 1:4

(2) → αυτους ημας ] ημας αυτους 02 06 010 012 018 020 044 056 0142 0150 0151 6 35 88 103 104 131 142 254 256 365 436 454 455 459 517 606 608 629 630 720 858 886 915 941 999 1101 1115 1127 1241 1354 1409 1448 1456 1524 1573 1609 1678 1729 1739 1751 1798 1830 1867 1881 1890 1899 1908 1910 1935 1943 1945 1947 1950 1961 1962 1969 1976 1977 1984 1987 1991 1995 2000 2003 2004 2005 2104 2105 2127 2138 2248 2298 2400 2492 2516 2523 2558 2576 2625 2674 2736 2772 2805; υμας αυτους 075 90 263 330 384 425 451 582 620 1390 1398 1661 1918 1973 1985 2002 2102 2197 2482

(3) → εν υμιν εγκαυχασθαι ] εν υμιν καυχασθαι 06 018 020 044 056 075 0142 0150 0151 0278 35 38 61 88 90 103 104 131 142 218 254 256 263 330 365 384 425 436 442 451 454 455 459 517 582 606 608 620 629 630 720 858 886 915 941 999 1101 1115 1127 1241 1352 1354 1390 1398 1409 1448 1456 1524 1573 1609 1661 1678 1729 1830 1845 1881 1890 1899 1908 1910 1935 1943 1945 1947 1950 1961 1962 1969 1973 1976 1977 1984 1985 1987 1991 2000 2002 2003 2004 2005 2102 2105 2127 2138 2197 2248 2298 2400 2482 2492 2516 2523 2544 2558 2576 2625 2674 2736 2772;

## 2 Thess 1:8

(4) → εν πυρι φλογος ] ♦ 01, 02, 018, 020, 025, 056, 0142, 0151, 0278, 6, 33, 35, 38, 61, 81, 88, 90, 103, 104, 131, 142, 218, 254, 256, 365, 384, 425, 436, 442, 454, 455, 459, 517, 582, 608, 620, 629, 630, 720, 858, 886, 915, 941, 999, 1101, 1115, 1127, 1241, 1311, 1352, 1354, 1390, 1409, 1448, 1456, 1524, 1573, 1609, 1661, 1678, 1729, 1739, 1751, 1798, 1830, 1845, 1867, 1881, 1890, 1899, 1918, 1935, 1943, 1945, 1947, 1950, 1961, 1962, 1969, 1973, 1976, 1977, 1984, 1985, 1987, 1991, 1995, 2000, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2102, 2104, 2105, 2127, 2197, 2248, 2298, 2482, 2523, 2544, 2576, 2625, 2674, 2736, 2772

(5) → του κυριου ημων ιησου ] του κυριου ημων ιησου χριστου 01 02 010 012 056 075 0142 0150 0278 6 35 38 61 81 104 131 218 256 263 365 425 436 442 454 459 506 582 606 620 629 630 999 1101 1115 1127 1241 1311 1352 1354 1409 1448 1456 1573 1661 1867 1890 1899 1912 1918 1935 1950 1987 2127 2400 2464 2516 2523 2544 2576 2625 2736 2805

## 2 Thess 1:12

(6) → κυριου ημων ιησου ] κυριου ημων ιησου χριστου 02 010 012 025 0150 0151 0278 33 35 38 61 81 90 103 104 131 142 203 254 365 384 436 455 459 506 582 608 620 629 720 858 886 941 999 1101 1352 1354 1409 1448 1524 1573 1661 1678 1739 1751 1798 1881 1890 1899 1918 1935 1943 1945 1947 1950 1961 1962 1969 1973 1976 1977 1984 1985 1987 1995 2000 2002 2005 2102 2104 2105 2127 2138 2197 2248 2482 2544 2576 2625 2736

## 2 Thess 2:2

(7) → μηδε ] μητε 06C1 018 020 025 056 0142 0150 0151 35 38 61 81 88 90 104 131 142 203 218 330 384 425 451 454 455 459 506 517 582 608 620 629 630 720 858 886 915 941 1101 1115 1127 1241 1352 1354 1398 1448 1456 1609 1661 1678 1729 1798 1830 1867 1890 1899 1910-2 1912 1918 1935 1943 1945 1947 1950 1961 1962 1969 1973 1976 1977 1984 1985 1987 1991 1995 2000 2002 2003 2004 2102 2104 2105 2197 2248C 2298 2400 2464 2482 2492 2516 2523 2544 2558 2576 2674 2736 2772 2805

(8) του κυριου ] του χριστου 06C 018 056 0142 0150 0151 35 38 90 131 142 384 425 454 455C 517 582 620 630 720 941 1101 1311 1354 1390 1448 1456 1573 1609 1661 1729 1830 1867 1890 1899 1918 1942 1962 2003 2004 2298 2558 2674 2736 2772; κυριου 010 012 025 103 254 608 858 1524 1798 1881 1943 1947 1961 1973 1976 1977 1991 1995 2000 2002 2102 2105 2400 2482



## 2 Thess 2:3

(9) → της ανομίας ] της αμαρτίας 02 06 010 012 018 020 025 044 056 075 0142 0150 0151 35 61C 88 90 103 131 142 254 330 384 425 442 451 454 455 459 517 582C 606 608 629 630 720 858 886 915\* 941 999 1101 1241 1311 1354 1390 1398 1409 1448 1456 1524 1609 1661 1678 1729 1751 1798 1830 1867 1890 1908 1910 1935 1942 1943 1945 1947 1950 1961 1962 1969 1973 1976 1977 1984 1985 1987 1995 2000 2002 2003 2004 2102 2104 2105 2138 2197 2248 2298 2400 2482 2492 2516 2576 2674 2736 2772

## 2 Thess 2:4

(10) → καθισαι ] ως θεον καθισαι 06C 018 020 056 075 0142 0150 0151 0278 35 38 61 131 203 218 425 454 506 517 606 630V 886 941 999 1101 1241V 1311 1352 1354 1390 1448 1456 1609 1661 1845 1867 1890 1899 1908 1910 1945 1969 1977 2003 2004 2248C2 2558 2674

## 2 Thess 2:6

(11) → †εν τω αυτου καιρω ] εν τω εαυτου καιρω 01C 03 06 010 012 016V 020 044 056 0142 0150 0151 0278 6 35 38C 88 103 104 131 142 254 425 436 442 454 455 459 517 582 606 608 620 629 720 858 886 915 1101 1241 1409 1456C 1524 1573 1609 1661 1678 1739 1798 1845 1867 1881 1899 1908 1910 1918 1942 1943 1945 1947 1961 1962 1973 1976 1977 1984 1991 1995 2002 2004 2104 2105 2138 2197 2482 2576 2805

## 2 Thess 2:8

(12) → ο κυριος ιησους ] ♦ ο κυριος 03 06C 018 020\* 056 0142 0151 6 35 38 61 88 90 131 142 218 263 384 425 442 454 517 606 620\* 629 630 915 941 999 1115 1127 1311 1352 1354 1390 1409 1448 1456 1609 1661 1678 1739 1830 1867 1881 1890 1899 1910-2 1976 1984 1991 2003 2004 2248 2298 2523 2558 2576 2674 2772 2805

(13) → ανελει ] αναλωσει 06C 018 020 044 056 075 0142 0150 0151 6 35 61 90 103 131 142 254 384 425 454 455 517 582 606 608 620 629 630 720 858V 886 941 999 1101 1115 1127V 1241 1311 1354 1390 1409 1448 1456 1524 1609 1661 1678 1751 1798 1830 1867 1881 1890 1899 1908 1910-1 1910-3 1918 1935 1943 1945 1947 1950 1961 1969 1973 1976 1977 1984 1985 1987 1995 2000 2002 2003 2004 2102 2104 2105 2138 2197 2248 2298 2482 2544 2558 2576 2674 2772

## 2 Thess 2:10

(14) → αδικιας ] της αδικιας 01C 06 018 020 025 044 056 075 0142 0151 35 38 61 90 103 131 142 203 218 254 256 263 330f 365 384 425 454 455 517 582 606 620 629 630 720 858 886 941 999 1101 1115 1127 1241 1311 1352 1354 1390 1409 1448 1456 1524 1573 1609 1661 1678 1751 1798 1830 1890 1899 1908 1912 1918 1935 1943 1945 1947 1950 1961 1969 1973 1976 1977 1987 1991 1995 2000 2002 2003 2102 2104 2105 2127 2138 2197 2248 2298 2482 2492 2516 2523 2558 2576 2674 2772 2805

(15) → τοις απολλυμενοις ] εν τοις απολλυμενοις 01C 06C 018 020 025 044 056 075  
0142 0151 6 35 38 61 88 90 103 104 131 142 203 218 254 256 263 330 365 384 425 436  
442 451 454 455 459 506 517 582 606 608 620 629 630 720 858 886 915 941 999 1101  
1115 1127 1241 1311 1352 1354 1390 1398 1409V 1448 1456 1524 1573 1609 1661f  
1678 1751 1798 1830 1838 1845 1867 1881 1890 1899 1908 1910 1918 1935 1942 1943  
1945 1947 1950 1961 1962 1969 1973 1976 1977 1984 1985 1987 1991 1995 2000 2002  
2003 2004 2102 2104 2105 2127 2138 2197 2248 2298 2400 2482 2492V 2516 2523  
2558V 2576 2674 2772

## 2 Thess 2:11

(16) → πεμπει ] πεμψει 01C 06C 018 020 025 044 056 075 0142 0150 0151 0278 35 38  
61 81 90 103 104 131 142 203 218 254 256 263 365 384 425 436 442 454 455 459 506  
517 582 606 608 620 629 630 720 858 886 941 999 1101 1115 1127 1241 1311 1352  
1354 1390 1409 1448 1456 1524 1573 1609 1661 1678 1751 1798 1830 1838 1845 1867  
1899 1908 1910 1912 1918 1935 1943 1945 1947 1950 1961 1962 1969 1973 1976 1977  
1984 1985 1987 1991 1995 2000 2002 2004 2102 2104 2105 2127 2197 2248 2298 2464  
2482 2523 2544 2558 2576 2674 2772 2805

## 2 Thess 2:12

(17) → †απαντες ] παντες 03 06 018 020 025 044 056 075 0142 0150 0151 0278 6 35 61  
88 90 103 131 142 254 256 263 365 384 425 436 442 454 455 517 582 606 608 620 629  
630 720 858 886 915 941 999 1101 1115 1241 1311 1354 1390 1398 1409 1448 1456  
1524 1573 1609 1661 1751 1798 1830 1845 1867 1890 1899 1908 1910 1912 1918 1943  
1945 1947 1961 1969 1973 1976 1977 1984 1985 1991 1995 2000 2002 2003 2004 2102  
2104 2105 2127 2197 2248 2298 2464 2482 2523 2576 2674 2772 2805

(18) → τη αδικια ] εν τη αδικια 01C 02 06C 018 020 025 044 075 0142 0150 0151 6 35  
81 90 104 131 142 203 218 254 256 263 365 384C 425 436 442 454 455 459 506 517  
582 608 620 629 630 720 858 886 915 941 1101 1115 1241 1311 1352 1354 1390 1409  
1448 1456 1524 1573 1609 1661 1678 1751 1798 1830 1838 1845 1867 1890 1899 1908  
1910 1918 1935 1943 1945 1947 1950 1961 1962 1969 1973 1976 1977 1984 1987 1991  
1995 2002 2003 2102 2105 2127 2197 2248 2298 2482 2492 2523 2544 2674 2805

## 2 Thess 2:13

(19) → ειλατο ] ειλετο 018 056 0142 0151 0278 6 35 38C 61C 88 90 103 104 131 142  
203 254 256 365 384 425 436 442 454 455 459 506 517 582 606 620 629 630 720 858  
886 915 941 999 1101 1115 1127 1311 1354 1390 1409 1448 1456 1524 1573 1609 1661  
1678 1739 1751 1798 1830 1838 1867 1881 1890 1899 1908C 1910 1918 1935 1943  
1947 1950 1961 1962 1969 1973 1976 1977 1984 1985 1987 1991 1995 2000 2002 2003  
2004 2102 2104 2105 2127 2197 2298 2482 2523 2544 2558 2576 2674 2772

(20) → απαρχην ] απ αρχης 01 06 018 020 044 056 0142 0150 0151 6 35 38 61\* 88 90  
103 104 131 142 203 218 254 330 384 425 436 442 451 454 455 459 506 517 582 606  
608 620 629 630 720 858 886 915 941 999 1101 1115 1127 1241 1352 1354 1390 1398  
1409 1448 1456 1524 1609 1661 1678 1751 1798 1830 1838 1845 1867 1890 1899 1910  
1918 1935 1943 1945 1947 1950 1961 1962 1969 1973 1976 1977 1984 1985 1987 1991  
1995 2000 2002 2003 2102 2104 2105 2197 2248 2298 2400 2492 2516 2523 2558 2576  
2674 2772 2805

## 2 Thess 2:14

(21) → και ] om 03 06 018 020 044 056 0142 0151 6 33 35 61\* 90 103 104 131 142 203  
254 384 425 454 455 459 506 517 582 606 608 620 629 630 720 858 915 941 999 1101  
1115 1127 1241 1354 1409 1448 1456 1524 1609 1661 1678 1739 1751 1798 1830 1838  
1867 1881 1899 1908 1910 1918 1935 1943 1947 1950 1961 1962 1969 1973 1976 1984  
1985 1987 1995 2000 2002 2003 2004 2102 2104 2197 2248 2298 2482 2576 2674 2772;  
lac 02 1991V 2558V

## 2 Thess 2:16

(22) → ο θεος ο πατηρ ] ♦ ο θεος και πατηρ 06C 016 020 025 044 056 075 0142 0278 6  
35 38 61 81 90 103 104 142 203 218 254 263 330 365 384 425 436 451 454 455 459 506  
517 582 606 608 620 629 630 720 858 886 941 999 1101 1127 1241 1352 1354 1390  
1398 1409 1448 1456 1524 1573 1609 1661 1678 1751 1798 1830 1845 1867 1899 1908  
1910 1912 1918 1943 1945 1947 1961 1962 1969 1973 1977 1995 2000 2002 2004 2104  
2105 2127 2197 2248 2298 2400 2464V 2482 2492 2516 2544 2558 2576 2674 2772 280

## 2 Thess 2:17

(23) → στηριξαι ] + υμας 06C 018 020 056 0142 0150 0151 35 61 88 103 131 142 203  
218 254 330 384 425 436 451 454 455 506 517 608 620 630 720 858 886 915 941 999  
1101 1115 1127 1241 1311 1352 1354 1390 1398 1409 1448 1524 1609 1661 1678 1751  
1798 1830 1867 1899 1918 1935 1943 1945 1947 1950 1961 1962 1973 1976 1977 1984  
1985 1987 1991 1995 2000 2003 2004 2102 2105 2197 2248 2298 2400 2482 2492 2516  
2523 2558 2576 2772; + ημας 38 90 582 2674

(24) → εργω και λογω αγαθω ] λογω και εργω αγαθω 010 012 018 056 0142 0150 0151  
6 35 38 61 88 90 131 142 203 218 384 425 436 506 517 630 915 941V 999 1101 1115  
1127 1311 1352 1390 1409 1448 1456 1609 1678 1751 1830 1899 1910 1935 1950 1962  
1987 2003 2004 2104 2298 2523 2558 2674 2772 2805

## 2 Thess 3:4

(25) → παραγγελλομεν ] παραγγελλομεν υμιν 02 06C 010 012 018 020 025V 056 075  
0142 0150 0151 0278 35 38 61 81 88 90 103 104 131 142 203 218 254 256 263 330 365  
384 425 436 442 451 454 455C 459 506 517 582 606 608 620 630 720 858 915 941 999  
1101 1115 1127 1241 1311 1352 1354 1390 1398 1448 1456 1524 1609 1661 1678 1751  
1798 1830 1838 1845 1867 1881 1899 1908 1912 1918 1935 1943 1945 1950 1962 1973  
1976 1977 1985 1987 1991 1995 2002 2003 2004 2005 2102 2104 2105 2127 2138 2197  
2248 2298 2400 2464 2482 2492 2516 2523 2544 2576 2674 2736 2772 2805

(26) → και ποιειτε και ποιησετε ] ♦ 018, 020, 044, 056, 075, 0142, 0150, 0151, 0278, 33,  
35, 61, 81, 88, 103, 104, 142, 203, 254, 256, 263, 330, 365, 425, 436, 442, 451, 454, 455,  
459, 506, 517, 582, 606, 608, 620, 630, 720, 858, 886, 915, 999, 1101, 1115, 1127, 1241,  
1311, 1352, 1354, 1398, 1409, 1448, 1456, 1524, 1609, 1751, 1798, 1830, 1845, 1899,  
1908, 1918, 1935, 1943, 1945, 1947, 1950, 1961, 1962, 1969, 1973, 1976, 1984, 1987,  
1991, 1995, 2000, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2104, 2105, 2138, 2197, 2248, 2298, 2400,  
2464, 2482, 2516, 2523, 2544, 2576, 2772, 2805

## 2 Thess 3:6

(27) → παρελαβοσαν ] παρελαβον 01C 06C 018 020 025 044 056 075 0142 0150 0151  
6 35 38 61 81 90 103 104 203 254 256 263 330 365 384 425 451 454 455 459 506 517  
606 629 630 720 858 886 915 941 999 1101 1115 1127 1241 1352 1354 1390 1398 1409  
1448 1456 1524 1573 1609 1661 1678 1739 1798 1830 1838 1867 1881 1899 1908 1910  
1935 1943 1945 1947 1950 1961 1969 1973 1976 1977 1984 1985 1987 1991 1995 2000  
2003 2004 2102 2104 2105 2127 2197 2248 2298 2492 2516 2523 2544 2558V 2576  
2674 2736 2772

## 2 Thess 3:8

(28) → νυκτος και ημερας ] ♦ νυκτα και ημεραν 02 06 018 020 025 044 056 0142 0150  
0151 6 35 38 61 88 90 103 131f 142 203 254 330 384 425 436 451 454f 455 506 517 582  
606 620 629 720 858 886 915 941 999 1101 1115f 1127 1241 1311 1352 1354 1390  
1398 1409 1448 1456 1524 1609 1661 1678 1739 1751V 1798 1867 1881 1899 1910  
1918 1935 1943f 1945 1947 1950 1961 1962 1973 1976 1977 1984 1985 1987 1991  
1995 2000 2002 2003 2004 2102 2104f 2105 2197 2248 2298 2400 2482 2492 2516  
2523 2558V 2674 2736

## 2 Thess 3:12

(29) → εν κυριω ιησου χριστω ] δια του κυριου ημων ιησου χριστου 01C 06C 018 020  
056 075 0142 0150 0151 6 35 38 61 90 131 142 218 254 330 384 425 442 451 454 455C  
517 582 606 608 620 629 630 720 886C 941 1101 1115 1127 1241 1311 1352 1354 1390  
1398 1409 1448 1456 1524 1609 1661 1678 1729 1751 1830 1867 1908 1943 1945 1947  
1962 1969 1976C 1977 1991 1995 2000 2002 2003 2004 2104 2105 2248 2298 2400  
2482 2492 2516 2523 2558V 2674 2736

2 Thess 3:13

(30) → εγκακησητε ] εκκακησητε 06C 010 012 018 020 025 044 056 075 0142 0150  
0151 0278 6 33 35 38 81 88 90 103 104 131 142 203 218 254 256 263 330 365 384 425  
436 442 451 454 455 459 506 517 582 606 608 620 629 630 720 858 886 915 941 999  
1101 1115 1127 1241 1311 1352 1354 1390 1398 1409 1448 1456 1524 1573 1609 1661  
1678 1729f 1739 1751 1798 1830 1838 1845 1867 1881 1899 1910 1912 1918 1935  
1942 1943 1945 1947C 1950 1961 1969 1973 1976 1977 1984 1985 1987 1991 1995  
2000 2002 2003 2004 2005 2102 2104 2105 2127 2138 2197 2248 2298 2400 2464 2482  
2492 2516 2523 2544 2558 2576 2674 2736 2805

2 Thess 3:14

(31)<sup>3</sup> → μη συναναμιγνυσθαι ] και μη συναναμιγνυσθε 06, 010, 012, 018, 020, 025,  
056, 075, 0142, 0150, 0151, 0278, 35, 38, 61, 81, 88, 90, 103, 104, 131, 142, 203, 218,  
254, 256, 263, 330, 384, 425, 436, 442, 451, 454, 455, 459, 506, 517, 582, 606, 608, 620,  
629, 630, 720, 858, 886, 915, 941, 999, 1101, 1115, 1127, 1241, 1311, 1352, 1354, 1390,  
1398, 1409, 1448, 1456, 1524, 1573, 1609, 1661, 1678, 1729, 1751, 1798, 1830, 1838,  
1845, 1867, 1890, 1899, 1908, 1912, 1918, 1935, 1943, 1945, 1947, 1950, 1961, 1962,  
1969, 1973, 1977, 1984, 1985, 1987, 1991, 1995, 2000, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2102,  
2104, 2105, 2127, 2197, 2248, 2298, 2400, 2464, 2482, 2492, 2516, 2523, 2544, 2558V,  
2576, 2674, 2736, 2805

2 Thess 3:18

(32) → υμων ] + αμην 01C 02 06 010 012 018 020 025 044 056 075 0142 0150 0151 35  
38 61 81 88 90 103 104 131 142 203 218 254 256 263 330 365 384 425 436 442 451 454  
455 459 506 517 582 606 620 629 630 720 858 886 915 941 999 1101 1115 1127 1241  
1311 1352 1354 1390 1398 1409 1448 1456 1524 1573 1609 1661 1678 1729 1751 1798  
1830 1838 1845 1867 1881C 1890 1899 1908 1912 1935 1942 1943 1945 1947 1950  
1961 1962 1973 1976 1977 1984 1985 1987 1991 1995 2000 2002 2003 2004 2005 2102  
2104 2105 2127 2138 2197 2248 2298 2400 2482 2492 2516 2523 2544 2576 2674 2736  
2805

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<sup>3</sup> Although, for practical reasons, I have broken this variation unit into two in Chapter 2, I have counted it as one Byzantine unit since most of the manuscripts which include the καί naturally also read the imperative.

## APPENDIX 3

### SELECT GENEALOGICAL DATA

In this appendix, I provide select genealogical data for the manuscripts included in this thesis. First, I provide a table listing each manuscript's pregenealogical coherence with the editorial text. These manuscripts are arranged by percentage of agreement from highest to lowest. Following this table, I have an entry for each manuscript, which lists the manuscript's pregenealogical coherence with the editorial text, its Byzantine coherence, its ten closest<sup>1</sup> relatives in terms of pregenealogical coherence, and its ten closest relatives in terms of agreements in variation.<sup>2</sup> As in Appendix 2, I have excluded the corrected profiles of manuscripts as well as manuscripts with significant lacunae or omissions. Finally, I have appended K to commentary manuscripts to alert the reader to these manuscripts and to make more explicit the genealogical relationship of commentary manuscripts to one another and with non-commentary manuscripts.

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<sup>1</sup> In the profiles of manuscripts that follows below, I have only listed the 10 closest relatives for pregenealogical coherence and agreements in variation—even in cases where more than 10 relatives share the same amount of coherence or number of agreements.

<sup>2</sup> As stated in Chapter 4 ("Textual History"), *pregenealogical coherence* measures the amount of agreement between two manuscripts across all variation units where at least one variant reading is attested by at least one manuscript. *Byzantine coherence* measures the amount of agreement of each manuscript across the 32 distinct Byzantine readings that diverge from the editorial text or are marked with a ♦. *Agreements in variation* counts the number of times two manuscripts agree when agreements with the Byzantine text (as I have defined it) and the editorial text are excluded. In other words, it counts the non-Byzantine and non-editorial text agreements (non-Byzantine agreements in error). For a more in-depth description of these measures, readers should see Chapter 4 ("Textual History").

## The Editorial Text

***Table A3.1: Pregenealogical Coherence with the Editorial Text***

Manuscript	Editorial Readings	Variation Units	Percentage
03	594	611	97.22
01	592	611	96.89
436	588	611	96.24
81	587	611	96.07
256	587	611	96.07
203	586	611	95.91
02	584	609	95.90
1845	585	611	95.75
6	584	611	95.58
2805	584	611	95.58
1912	584	611	95.58
025	581	608	95.56
1739	583	611	95.42
020	582	610	95.41
88	571	599	95.33
1101	582	611	95.25
1908	579	608	95.23
517	581	611	95.09
35	581	611	95.09
1456	581	611	95.09
2464	574	604	95.03
33	554	583	95.03
1969	580	611	94.93
1609	580	611	94.93
1352	580	611	94.93
104	580	611	94.93
2544	579	610	94.92
459	577	608	94.90
425	579	611	94.76
1987	579	611	94.76
1945	579	611	94.76
1390	579	611	94.76
2003	578	611	94.60
1798	578	611	94.60
1354	578	611	94.60
1241	578	611	94.60
1899	576	609	94.58
1962	557	589	94.57
365	574	607	94.56
454	577	611	94.44
442	577	611	94.44
2523	577	611	94.44
2197	577	611	94.44
1867	577	611	94.44
1448	577	611	94.44
0278	571	605	94.38
999	576	611	94.27
506	576	611	94.27

<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Editorial Readings</b>	<b>Variation Units</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
263	576	611	94.27
2004	576	611	94.27
1830	576	611	94.27
1127	576	611	94.27
056	576	611	94.27
2002	569	604	94.21
075	568	603	94.20
886	575	611	94.11
630	575	611	94.11
455	575	611	94.11
451	575	611	94.11
330	575	611	94.11
2298	575	611	94.11
1935	575	611	94.11
142	575	611	94.11
103	575	611	94.11
720	574	610	94.10
1977	573	609	94.09
915	566	602	94.02
858	574	611	93.94
1973	574	611	93.94
1950	574	611	93.94
018	573	610	93.93
1943	564	601	93.84
384	573	611	93.78
2400	573	611	93.78
1398	569	607	93.74
2482	565	603	93.70
1678	572	611	93.62
941	571	611	93.45
606	571	611	93.45
254	571	611	93.45
2127	570	610	93.44
1961	554	593	93.42
620	567	607	93.41
1409	566	606	93.40
2492	565	605	93.39
1947	562	602	93.36
90	570	611	93.29
2576	570	611	93.29
1881	570	611	93.29
1524	570	611	93.29
1991	556	596	93.29
0142	564	605	93.22
1984	569	611	93.13
0151	569	611	93.13
1995	564	606	93.07
2105	568	611	92.96
044	568	611	92.96
1311	563	606	92.90
2516	567	611	92.80



<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Editorial Readings</b>	<b>Variation Units</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
1976	566	610	92.79
582	562	607	92.59
0150	565	611	92.47
2674	561	607	92.42
61	564	611	92.31
06	564	611	92.31
1115	558	606	92.08
1661	554	602	92.03
131	562	611	91.98
1751	559	608	91.94
2104	561	611	91.82
608	560	610	91.80
1573	551	602	91.53
1918	550	602	91.36
2000	558	611	91.33
2248	557	611	91.16
012	546	599	91.15
629	544	604	90.07
010	538	598	89.97
38	540	602	89.70
2102	530	604	87.75
1985	530	604	87.75

## GA 01

**Editorial Text:** 96.89%

**Byzantine Coherence:** 12.90%

Pregenealogical Coherence		Agreements in Variation	
Manuscript	Percentage	Manuscript	Agreements
02	94.58%	2248K	3
03	94.27%	629	3
436	93.78%	02	3
81	93.62%	2000K	2
6	93.62%	941	2
2805	93.29%	61	2
256	93.29%	38	1
203	93.13%	2674	1
1912	93.13%	2516	1
1845	93.13%	1881	1
1739	93.13%	1739	1

## GA 02

**Editorial Text:** 95.90%

**Byzantine Coherence:** 32.26%

Pregenealogical Coherence		Agreements in Variation	
Manuscript	Percentage	Manuscript	Agreements
81	94.91%	2464	5
436	94.58%	0278	5
01	94.58%	263	5
03	94.25%	1881	5
6	94.09%	81	4
203	94.09%	38	4
1101	94.09%	6	3
459	94.06%	330	3
025	94.06%	2544	3
1962K	94.04%	2492	3

## GA 03

**Editorial Text:** 97.22%

**Byzantine Coherence:** 12.50%

Pregenealogical Coherence		Agreements in Variation	
Manuscript	Percentage	Manuscript	Agreements
1739	94.93	06	5
436	94.60	1881	5
2805	94.60	1984K	4
6	94.44	2464	4
1912	94.44	1398	3
81	94.27	1739	3
517	94.27	1912	3
01	94.27	1918	3
020	94.26	1961K	3
02	94.25	2400	3

**GA 06****Editorial Text: 92.31%****Byzantine Coherence: 34.38%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
03	92.47	010	7
020	92.30	012	6
6	92.14	03	5
436	92.14	1881	5
517	91.82	2516	5
2805	91.82	1739	4
1101	91.82	2400	4
35	91.65	330	4
1241	91.65	451	4
606K	91.49	606K	4

**GA 010****Editorial Text: 89.97%****Byzantine Coherence: 34.38%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
012	97.99	012	40
436	89.80	06	7
2805	89.80	2464	5
1912	89.47	1912	4
81	89.30	2002K	4
1101	89.30	2105K	4
2464	89.17	2400	4
2002K	89.17	2516	4
35	89.13	2805	4
02	89.09	608K	4

**GA 012****Editorial Text: 91.15%****Byzantine Coherence: 34.38%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
010	97.99	010	40
436	90.99	06	6
2805	90.99	2464	6
2464	90.54	044	4
1912	90.48	1912	4
1101	90.48	1943K	4
2002K	90.37	2002K	4
35	90.32	2400	4
81	90.15	2805	4
1987K	90.15	608K	4

**GA 018K****Editorial Text:** 93.93%**Byzantine Coherence:** 87.50%

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
517	98.03	0151K	7
0151K	97.87	38	3
35	97.71	1945K	2
1609	97.54	2004	2
1101	97.54	2104K	2
1456	97.38	263	2
020	97.37	915	2
425	97.21	0150K	1
2003	97.05	02	1
1448	97.05	020	1

**GA 020****Editorial Text:** 95.41%**Byzantine Coherence:** 84.38%

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
517	99.02	2104K	2
35	98.69	2298	2
1609	98.53	010	1
1101	98.53	012	1
1241	98.36	0151K	1
425	98.20	018K	1
454K	98.03	075K	1
1456	98.03	103K	1
2298	97.87	1241	1
1867	97.87	1390	1

**GA 025****Editorial Text:** 95.56%**Byzantine Coherence:** 50.00%

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
1945K	96.55	010	3
1101	96.55	012	3
35	96.38	2102K	3
020	96.21	0278	2
517	96.05	06	2
436	96.05	103K	2
203	96.05	1241	2
1798K	96.05	1524K	2
1456	96.05	1573	2
1241	96.05	1881	2

**GA 044****Editorial Text: 92.96%****Byzantine Coherence: 58.06%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
0150K	94.60	0150K	14
020	94.26	608K	13
517	93.94	012	4
1101	93.94	010	3
35	93.78	06	3
1945K	93.78	1912	3
1241	93.78	1985K	3
608K	93.77	2000K	3
454K	93.62	2102K	3
1609	93.62	2464	3

**GA 056K****Editorial Text: 94.27%****Byzantine Coherence: 93.75%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
0142K	98.68	0142K	6
35	98.53	1398	2
1609	98.36	1984K	2
1101	98.36	1991K	2
517	98.20	1995K	2
425	98.04	2400	2
1456	97.87	2516	2
1448	97.87	330	2
1899	97.70	38	2
020	97.54	451	2

**GA 075K****Editorial Text: 94.20%****Byzantine Coherence: 62.50%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
1908K	97.83	1908K	9
020	95.68	1845	4
1101	95.52	330	4
425	95.36	451	4
35	95.36	2400	3
1456	95.36	2516	3
256	95.19	263	3
1845	95.19	442K	3
517	95.03	582	3
436	95.03	010	2

**GA 0142K****Editorial Text: 93.22%****Byzantine Coherence: 93.75%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
056K	98.68	056K	6
35	97.85	1984K	4
1609	97.69	1976K	3
1101	97.69	03	2
517	97.52	06	2
425	97.36	1398	2
1456	97.19	1881	2
1448	97.19	1961K	2
1899	97.18	1991K	2
020	96.85	1995K	2

**GA 0150K****Editorial Text: 92.47%****Byzantine Coherence: 77.42%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
1101	95.75	044	14
35	95.58	608K	13
517	95.25	06	3
608K	95.25	2805	3
425	94.76	010	2
1609	94.76	012	2
1899	94.75	03	2
436	94.60	1912	2
1456	94.60	2104K	2
1448	94.60	2464	2

**GA 0151K****Editorial Text: 93.13%****Byzantine Coherence: 93.75%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
018K	97.87	018K	7
517	97.55	1409	3
35	97.55	1845	3
1101	97.38	2104K	3
1609	97.05	38	3
020	96.89	02	2
425	96.73	075K	2
1899	96.72	1908K	2
1456	96.56	1912	2
1448	96.56	2000K	2

**GA 0278****Editorial Text: 94.38%****Byzantine Coherence: 46.88%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
81	94.55	263	6
436	94.55	02	5
256	94.55	365	5
1845	94.38	38	5
365	94.01	1573	4
263	93.72	1912	4
1945K	93.72	2127	4
1912	93.72	2464	4
1101	93.72	2516	4
35	93.55	330	4

**GA 6****Editorial Text: 95.58%****Byzantine Coherence: 59.38%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
436	96.73	1739	6
35	96.73	1881	4
1101	96.56	02	3
517	96.40	06	3
1456	96.40	044	2
425	96.24	1311	2
1609	96.24	1751	2
1739	96.07	1973K	2
020	96.07	1985K	2
1899	96.06	2102K	2

**GA 33****Editorial Text: 95.03%****Byzantine Coherence: 16.13%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
03	93.31	1661	4
1739	92.80	1739	4
025	92.76	010	3
01	92.62	06	3
81	92.45	1881	3
203	92.28	2516	3
1969K	92.28	2544	3
1912	92.28	451	3
2544	92.27	012	2
436	92.11	02	2

**GA 35****Editorial Text: 95.09%****Byzantine Coherence: 100%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
1101	99.84	NA	NA
517	99.35	NA	NA
425	99.18	NA	NA
1609	99.18	NA	NA
1899	99.18	NA	NA
1456	99.02	NA	NA
1448	99.02	NA	NA
020	98.69	NA	NA
1354	98.53	NA	NA
056K	98.53	NA	NA

**GA 38****Editorial Text: 89.70%****Byzantine Coherence: 71.88%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
1352	93.02	2576K	7
35	92.03	1984K	6
1101	91.86	263	6
517	91.69	365	6
1456	91.69	0278	5
1127	91.53	1961K	5
056K	91.53	1985K	5
425	91.36	2000K	5
2576K	91.36	2102K	5
203	91.36	2400	5

**GA 61****Editorial Text: 92.31%****Byzantine Coherence: 78.13%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
35	95.25	38	3
1101	95.09	01	2
517	94.93	0150K	2
1899	94.91	02	2
1448	94.76	2248K	2
020	94.75	606K	2
425	94.60	720K	2
1456	94.60	81	2
1352	94.60	03	1
1609	94.44	044	1



**GA 81****Editorial Text: 96.07%****Byzantine Coherence: 46.88%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
436	95.75	02	4
203	95.58	0278	4
459	95.40	2464	4
256	95.25	263	4
1101	95.25	044	3
104	95.25	1751	3
2544	95.25	1985K	3
025	95.23	38	3
35	95.09	0150K	2
506	94.93	03	2

**GA 88****Editorial Text: 95.33%****Byzantine Coherence: 62.50%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
915	97.98	915	9
436	96.49	1985K	3
35	96.33	2102K	3
517	96.16	103K	2
1101	96.16	1524K	2
020	96.15	1798K	2
1609	95.99	1830	2
425	95.83	1935K	2
1456	95.83	1943K	2
1867	95.66	1950K	2

**GA 90****Editorial Text: 93.29%****Byzantine Coherence: 87.50%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
384	98.85	384	11
1390	97.22	1390	5
517	96.89	2492	4
35	96.89	1845	3
1448	96.89	1985K	3
1101	96.73	2102K	3
425	96.40	330	3
1609	96.40	451	3
1456	96.40	582	3
2298	96.24	075K	2

**GA 103K****Editorial Text: 94.11%****Byzantine Coherence: 75.00%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
1798K	97.55	1973K	8
2197K	97.22	1995K	7
1101	97.22	2000K	7
35	97.05	608K	7
1987K	97.05	858K	7
455K	96.89	1524K	6
254K	96.89	1961K	6
1943K	96.84	1984K	6
1609	96.73	2102K	6
1524K	96.73	2104K	6

**GA 104****Editorial Text: 94.93%****Byzantine Coherence: 65.63%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
459	99.34	459	10
436	96.89	2127	3
1101	96.40	263	3
35	96.24	365	3
203	96.07	02	2
256	95.75	0278	2
1798K	95.75	03	2
1899	95.73	1573	2
517	95.58	2492	2
1456	95.58	2523	2

**GA 131****Editorial Text: 91.98%****Byzantine Coherence: 90.63%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
35	96.56	2464	4
1101	96.40	012	3
517	95.91	1661	3
425	95.75	010	2
1609	95.75	03	2
1899	95.73	1398	2
1456	95.58	142	2
1448	95.58	1912	2
142	95.42	1918	2
454K	95.25	1947K	2

**GA 142****Editorial Text:** 94.11%**Byzantine Coherence:** 90.63%

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
1609	98.36	1976K	3
517	98.20	506	3
35	98.20	858K	3
1101	98.04	03	2
425	97.38	131	2
720K	97.38	1609	2
1899	97.37	1918	2
2003	97.22	1947K	2
1456	97.22	1961K	2
1448	97.22	1977K	2

**GA 203****Editorial Text:** 95.91%**Byzantine Coherence:** 65.63%

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
506	98.04	506	5
1101	97.71	010	2
35	97.55	012	2
517	97.22	1912	2
436	97.22	1976K	2
1987K	97.22	2464	2
020	97.21	2492	2
1609	97.05	2576K	2
1352	97.05	2805	2
1899	97.04	0150K	1

**GA 254K****Editorial Text:** 93.45%**Byzantine Coherence:** 81.25%

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
1524K	98.69	1524K	12
1973K	97.71	1984K	9
1798K	97.71	1973K	8
858K	97.55	2000K	8
2197K	97.55	2248K	8
1987K	97.38	608K	8
1977K	97.37	1961K	7
1101	97.22	1976K	7
1943K	97.17	1985K	7
455K	97.05	1991K	7

**GA 256****Editorial Text: 96.07%****Byzantine Coherence: 53.13%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
436	97.55	2127	7
365	97.20	1573	6
2127	96.89	365	6
2523	96.56	263	4
1101	96.40	0278	3
35	96.24	2523	3
263	96.24	1115	2
1456	96.24	1845	2
517	96.07	1912	2
020	96.07	436	2

**GA 263****Editorial Text: 94.27%****Byzantine Coherence: 53.13%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
256	96.24	1573	7
436	95.42	2127	7
365	95.39	365	7
2523	95.25	0278	6
442K	94.93	38	6
1845	94.93	442K	6
2127	94.75	02	5
020	94.75	2523	5
81	94.60	2576K	5
517	94.60	330	5

**GA 330****Editorial Text: 94.11%****Byzantine Coherence: 56.25%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
451	99.18	451	18
1398	97.86	2516	16
2516	97.71	1398	15
2400	97.71	2400	14
2492	96.20	2492	10
020	95.08	263	5
1390	94.93	0278	4
1127	94.93	06	4
1945K	94.76	075K	4
1352	94.76	1115	4

### GA 365

Editorial Text: 94.56%

Byzantine Coherence: 56.25%

Pregenealogical Coherence		Agreements in Variation	
Manuscript	Percentage	Manuscript	Agreements
256	97.20	1573	10
2127	96.21	2127	9
436	96.05	263	7
263	95.39	256	6
2523	95.06	38	6
1101	94.89	0278	5
104	94.89	2523	4
459	94.87	104	3
35	94.73	1398	3
1573	94.68	1845	3

### GA 384

Editorial Text: 93.78%

Byzantine Coherence: 84.38%

Pregenealogical Coherence		Agreements in Variation	
Manuscript	Percentage	Manuscript	Agreements
90	98.85	90	11
1390	97.55	1390	5
517	97.38	2492	4
35	97.22	1845	3
1448	97.22	330	3
1101	97.05	451	3
425	96.73	075K	2
1609	96.73	1398	2
2298	96.56	1448	2
1456	96.56	1751	2

### GA 425

Editorial Text: 94.76%

Byzantine Coherence: 96.88%

Pregenealogical Coherence		Agreements in Variation	
Manuscript	Percentage	Manuscript	Agreements
35	99.18	02	1
1101	99.02	075K	1
517	98.85	1390	1
1609	98.69	1398	1
1456	98.53	1661	1
1899	98.36	1881	1
1448	98.20	1918	1
020	98.20	1973K	1
056K	98.04	1985K	1
454K	97.87	2002K	1

**GA 436****Editorial Text:** 96.24%**Byzantine Coherence:** 68.75%

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
1101	98.20	442K	3
35	98.04	1573	2
517	97.55	1845	2
256	97.55	2127	2
1899	97.54	256	2
425	97.22	263	2
203	97.22	365	2
1609	97.22	010	1
020	97.21	012	1
2805	97.05	03	1

**GA 442K****Editorial Text:** 94.44%**Byzantine Coherence:** 62.50%

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
436	96.56	263	6
1845	95.75	1845	5
35	95.58	2127	4
020	95.57	2492	4
1101	95.42	012	3
517	95.25	0278	3
256	95.25	06	3
2523	95.25	075K	3
425	95.09	1573	3
2805	95.09	1751	3

**GA 451****Editorial Text:** 94.11%**Byzantine Coherence:** 53.13%

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
330	99.18	2516	19
1398	98.68	1398	18
2516	98.20	330	18
2400	98.20	2400	16
2492	96.20	2492	11
020	94.75	1661	6
1390	94.60	263	5
1127	94.60	0278	4
1352	94.44	06	4
1101	94.44	075K	4

**GA 454K****Editorial Text:** 94.44%**Byzantine Coherence:** 93.75%

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
517	98.36	620	6
35	98.36	1918	5
1101	98.20	582	5
1390	98.04	1390	4
020	98.03	2492	3
425	97.87	1398	2
1609	97.87	1661	2
1448	97.87	1984K	2
620	97.86	1985K	2
1456	97.71	2104K	2

**GA 455K****Editorial Text:** 94.11%**Byzantine Coherence:** 75.00%

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
1961K	98.99	1961K	11
886K	98.36	2576K	9
858K	97.87	1984K	8
2197K	97.87	886K	8
2576K	97.71	1976K	7
1973K	97.71	2102K	7
1987K	97.55	1973K	6
1798K	97.38	1985K	6
1101	97.38	1995K	6
1977K	97.37	1961K	11

**GA 459****Editorial Text:** 94.90%**Byzantine Coherence:** 68.75%

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
104	99.34	104	10
436	96.88	2127	3
1101	96.71	263	3
35	96.55	365	3
203	96.05	02	2
1798K	96.05	0278	2
517	95.89	03	2
1456	95.89	1573	2
020	95.88	1947K	2
1899	95.88	2492	2

**GA 506****Editorial Text: 94.27%****Byzantine Coherence: 65.63%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
203	98.04	203	5
1101	96.07	2464	5
436	95.91	2492	4
35	95.91	010	3
517	95.58	012	3
1987K	95.58	142	3
1352	95.42	1976K	3
020	95.41	2576K	3
1899	95.40	0150K	2
425	95.25	02	2

**GA 517****Editorial Text: 95.09%****Byzantine Coherence: 93.75%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
35	99.35	0150K	1
1609	99.18	0151K	1
1101	99.18	018K	1
020	99.02	020	1
425	98.85	03	1
1456	98.69	1390	1
1899	98.52	142	1
454K	98.36	1918	1
2003	98.36	1947K	1
1448	98.36	1961K	1

**GA 582****Editorial Text: 92.59%****Byzantine Coherence: 84.38%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
620	97.36	1918	11
454K	96.21	620	11
1101	96.05	454K	5
35	95.88	1390	4
517	95.55	1985K	4
425	95.39	2464	4
1448	95.39	2492	4
1390	95.22	263	4
436	95.06	2674	4
1798K	95.06	38	4



**GA 606K****Editorial Text: 93.45%****Byzantine Coherence: 78.13%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
1945K	96.73	1945K	6
35	96.40	06	4
517	96.24	2516	4
1101	96.24	330	4
020	96.23	451	4
1456	96.07	010	3
1241	96.07	012	3
425	95.91	0278	3
1609	95.91	044	3
1899	95.90	1398	3

**GA 608K****Editorial Text: 91.80%****Byzantine Coherence: 67.74%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
0150K	95.25	0150K	13
1798K	94.92	044	13
1995K	94.72	1995K	9
1961K	94.60	254K	8
254K	94.59	103K	7
1973K	94.59	1961K	7
858K	94.43	1973K	7
2197K	94.43	1984K	7
1101	94.43	1991K	7
2002K	94.36	1524K	6

**GA 620****Editorial Text: 93.41%****Byzantine Coherence: 87.50%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
454K	97.86	1918	12
582	97.36	582	11
35	97.20	454K	6
1101	97.04	1390	4
517	96.87	1985K	4
425	96.71	2464	4
1448	96.71	03	3
1390	96.54	1398	3
1609	96.38	1661	3
454K	97.86	1912	3

**GA 629****Editorial Text: 90.07%****Byzantine Coherence: 81.25%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
020	93.70	1678K	4
35	93.54	941	4
1101	93.38	01	3
517	93.05	858K	3
1867	93.05	010	2
1609	93.05	012	2
858K	92.88	02	2
1678K	92.88	1115	2
1456	92.88	1241	2
1241	92.88	142	2

**GA 630****Editorial Text: 94.11%****Byzantine Coherence: 90.63%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
1448	98.53	1448	3
35	98.20	1115	2
1101	98.04	1390	2
517	97.87	1398	2
1456	97.87	1985K	2
425	97.71	2102K	2
1609	97.71	2492	2
1390	97.71	2516	2
454K	97.38	384	2
1354	97.38	90	2

**GA 720K****Editorial Text: 94.10%****Byzantine Coherence: 87.50%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
1101	98.03	1947K	3
517	97.87	1984K	3
35	97.87	1995K	3
1609	97.71	2248K	3
020	97.70	858K	3
1798K	97.54	103K	2
858K	97.38	142	2
142	97.38	1524K	2
2197K	97.21	1798K	2
1977K	97.20	1830	2

**GA 858K****Editorial Text:** 93.94%**Byzantine Coherence:** 81.25%

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
1973K	98.53	1973K	9
2197K	98.36	1984K	8
1798K	98.04	2000K	8
455K	97.87	2102K	8
1101	97.71	2248K	8
1977K	97.70	103K	7
35	97.55	1524K	7
254K	97.55	1961K	7
1987K	97.55	1976K	7
1609	97.55	1985K	7

**GA 886K****Editorial Text:** 94.11%**Byzantine Coherence:** 75.00%

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
455K	98.36	1961K	8
1961K	97.98	455K	8
1798K	97.38	1984K	7
1101	97.38	2104K	7
1977K	97.37	1976K	6
35	97.22	2576K	6
2197K	97.22	1973K	5
1973K	97.22	1995K	5
858K	97.05	2102K	5
1987K	97.05	2248K	5

**GA 915****Editorial Text:** 94.02%**Byzantine Coherence:** 71.88%

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
88	97.98	88	9
35	96.35	1985K	5
517	96.18	2102K	4
1101	96.18	103K	3
020	96.17	1798K	3
436	96.01	1961K	3
1609	96.01	1973K	3
425	95.85	1984K	3
1798K	95.85	1991K	3
1987K	95.68	2000K	3

**GA 941****Editorial Text: 93.45%****Byzantine Coherence: 90.63%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
35	97.71	629	4
1609	97.55	2248K	3
1101	97.55	01	2
517	97.38	06	2
2003	97.05	1311	2
1456	97.05	142	2
1448	97.05	1678K	2
425	96.89	1751	2
142	96.89	2516	2
1899	96.88	582	2

**GA 999****Editorial Text: 94.27%****Byzantine Coherence: 84.38%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
35	97.55	2492	4
1448	97.55	1398	3
1101	97.38	2400	3
1354	97.05	2516	3
517	96.89	330	3
1456	96.89	451	3
056K	96.89	010	2
1899	96.88	012	2
630	96.73	1448	2
425	96.73	630	2

**GA 1101****Editorial Text: 95.25%****Byzantine Coherence: 96.88%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
35	99.84	NA	NA
517	99.18	NA	NA
425	99.02	NA	NA
1609	99.02	NA	NA
1899	99.02	NA	NA
1456	98.85	NA	NA
1448	98.85	NA	NA
020	98.53	NA	NA
1354	98.36	NA	NA
056K	98.36	NA	NA

**GA 1115****Editorial Text:** 92.08%**Byzantine Coherence:** 81.25%

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
1127	95.88	1127	6
35	95.55	2516	4
1101	95.38	330	4
517	95.05	451	4
1448	95.05	0278	3
1899	95.03	1398	3
425	94.88	2127	3
1987K	94.88	2400	3
1609	94.88	010	2
1456	94.88	012	2

**GA 1127****Editorial Text:** 94.27%**Byzantine Coherence:** 78.13%

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
35	97.22	1115	6
1101	97.05	330	4
517	96.73	451	4
1987K	96.73	0278	3
425	96.56	2127	3
1609	96.56	2400	3
1456	96.56	2516	3
056K	96.56	254K	3
1899	96.55	2576K	3
1448	96.40	38	3

**GA 1241****Editorial Text:** 94.60%**Byzantine Coherence:** 84.38%

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
020	98.36	0278	3
1101	98.04	1945K	3
35	97.87	025	2
1945K	97.87	103K	2
517	97.71	1115	2
425	97.38	1127	2
1609	97.38	1524K	2
1456	97.22	1573	2
454K	97.05	1830	2
1987K	97.05	1845	2

**GA 1311****Editorial Text: 92.90%****Byzantine Coherence: 74.19%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
35	95.71	010	3
1101	95.55	0278	3
517	95.38	2102K	3
425	95.38	38	3
1456	95.38	012	2
1609	95.22	044	2
1448	95.05	06	2
1390	95.05	1573	2
2003	94.88	1751	2
020	94.88	1912	2

**GA 1352****Editorial Text: 94.93%****Byzantine Coherence: 75.00%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
35	97.22	2576K	4
203	97.05	38	4
1101	97.05	1961K	3
1987K	96.73	2516	3
1448	96.73	455K	3
517	96.56	886K	3
436	96.56	0278	2
425	96.56	06	2
2523	96.56	1115	2
1456	96.56	1127	2

**GA 1354****Editorial Text: 94.60%****Byzantine Coherence: 93.75%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
35	98.53	01	1
1101	98.36	0150K	1
1448	98.20	06	1
517	97.87	1241	1
1456	97.87	1352	1
454K	97.71	1448	1
425	97.71	1661	1
1609	97.71	2000K	1
1899	97.70	2104K	1
020	97.54	2248K	1

**GA 1390****Editorial Text: 94.76%****Byzantine Coherence: 81.25%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
517	98.36	384	5
1448	98.20	90	5
454K	98.04	1918	4
35	98.04	454K	4
425	97.87	582	4
1609	97.87	620	4
1101	97.87	1398	3
630	97.71	1985K	3
1456	97.71	2492	3
020	97.71	254K	3

**GA 1398****Editorial Text: 93.74%****Byzantine Coherence: 56.25%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
451	98.68	2516	18
330	97.86	451	18
2516	97.53	2400	15
2400	97.53	330	15
2492	95.51	2492	10
020	94.72	1661	6
1390	94.56	1881	4
1101	94.40	263	4
517	94.23	38	4
436	94.23	0278	3

**GA 1409****Editorial Text: 93.40%****Byzantine Coherence: 87.50%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
35	97.36	1845	4
1101	97.20	0151K	3
517	96.87	075K	2
436	96.54	103K	2
425	96.54	1573	2
1609	96.54	1751	2
020	96.53	1908K	2
1899	96.52	1973K	2
1456	96.37	2000K	2
1448	96.37	2104K	2

**GA 1448****Editorial Text:** 94.44%**Byzantine Coherence:** 96.88%

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
35	99.02	630	3
1101	98.85	1390	2
630	98.53	2000K	2
517	98.36	2248K	2
1456	98.36	2492	2
425	98.20	384	2
1609	98.20	90	2
1390	98.20	999	2
1354	98.20	0142K	1
1899	98.19	044	1

**GA 1456****Editorial Text:** 95.09%**Byzantine Coherence:** 90.63%

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
35	99.02	1977K	1
1101	98.85	2104K	1
517	98.69	254K	1
425	98.53	01	0
1609	98.53	010	0
1448	98.36	012	0
1899	98.19	0142K	0
020	98.03	0150K	0
630	97.87	0151K	0
2003	97.87	018K	0

**GA 1524K****Editorial Text:** 93.29%**Byzantine Coherence:** 81.25%

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
254K	98.69	254K	12
858K	97.38	2000K	8
1798K	97.38	1973K	7
1973K	97.22	1984K	7
2197K	97.05	2248K	7
1101	97.05	858K	7
35	96.89	103K	6
1987K	96.89	1976K	6
103K	96.73	1995K	6
1943K	96.67	2102K	6



**GA 1573****Editorial Text: 91.53%****Byzantine Coherence: 62.50%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
365	94.68	365	10
256	94.52	2127	8
436	93.69	263	7
2127	93.51	256	6
1101	92.86	0278	4
35	92.69	2523	4
263	92.69	38	4
2523	92.36	1845	3
459	92.32	442K	3
025	92.32	02	2

**GA 1609****Editorial Text: 94.93%****Byzantine Coherence: 93.75%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
517	99.18	142	2
35	99.18	1798K	2
1101	99.02	2104K	2
425	98.69	858K	2
2003	98.53	010	1
1456	98.53	012	1
020	98.53	0142K	1
142	98.36	056K	1
056K	98.36	103K	1
1899	98.36	1524K	1

**GA 1661****Editorial Text: 92.03%****Byzantine Coherence: 93.75%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
35	96.68	1398	6
1101	96.51	451	6
425	96.35	2400	5
517	96.01	2516	5
454K	95.85	33	4
1609	95.85	330	4
1899	95.83	131	3
1456	95.68	1881	3
1448	95.68	1918	3
1354	95.68	2492	3

**GA 1678K****Editorial Text:** 93.62%**Byzantine Coherence:** 84.38%

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
35	97.22	629	4
1609	97.05	1751	3
1101	97.05	1881	3
517	96.89	02	2
020	96.56	075K	2
425	96.40	1661	2
142	96.40	1739	2
1899	96.39	1845	2
436	96.24	1908K	2
2003	96.24	2492	2

**GA 1739****Editorial Text:** 95.42%**Byzantine Coherence:** 31.25%

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
1881	97.38	1881	15
6	96.07	6	6
03	94.93	06	4
436	94.60	33	4
35	94.27	012	3
1101	94.11	03	3
517	93.94	010	2
020	93.93	02	2
203	93.78	1678K	2
1609	93.78	629	2

**GA 1751****Editorial Text:** 91.94%**Byzantine Coherence:** 75.00%

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
1101	94.41	2464	4
35	94.24	0278	3
1609	94.08	1678K	3
517	93.91	1830	3
1448	93.91	1845	3
1830	93.75	1912	3
020	93.74	2000K	3
436	93.59	2104K	3
2298	93.59	263	3
2003	93.59	442K	3

**GA 1798K****Editorial Text:** 94.60%**Byzantine Coherence:** 78.13%

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
1101	98.20	1991K	6
858K	98.04	254K	6
35	98.04	608K	6
2197K	98.04	103K	5
1609	98.04	1524K	5
1973K	97.87	1947K	5
1943K	97.84	1961K	5
254K	97.71	1973K	5
020	97.71	1984K	5
1977K	97.70	1995K	5

**GA 1830****Editorial Text:** 94.27%**Byzantine Coherence:** 84.38%

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
1609	98.04	1524K	4
517	97.87	1935K	4
35	97.87	1950K	4
1101	97.71	1987K	4
1456	97.55	254K	4
020	97.54	2576K	4
425	97.38	103K	3
2298	97.38	1751	3
1987K	97.38	1798K	3
1448	97.22	1947K	3

**GA 1845****Editorial Text:** 95.75%**Byzantine Coherence:** 50.00%

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
436	96.89	442K	5
1908K	96.22	075K	4
256	95.91	1409	4
1945K	95.91	1908K	4
020	95.90	263	4
442K	95.75	0151K	3
1241	95.75	02	3
517	95.58	0278	3
1101	95.58	1573	3
35	95.42	1751	3

**GA 1867****Editorial Text: 94.44%****Byzantine Coherence: 87.50%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
35	98.20	1390	2
1609	98.04	1912	2
1101	98.04	2104K	2
517	97.87	384	2
020	97.87	629	2
425	97.71	858K	2
1456	97.55	90	2
1448	97.55	010	1
056K	97.38	012	1
1899	97.37	0142K	1

**GA 1881****Editorial Text: 93.29%****Byzantine Coherence: 43.75%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
1739	97.38	1739	15
6	94.11	02	5
03	93.45	03	5
436	93.29	06	5
35	93.29	2400	5
1101	93.13	1398	4
517	92.96	2516	4
425	92.80	451	4
1798K	92.80	6	4
1678K	92.80	012	3

**GA 1899****Editorial Text: 94.58%****Byzantine Coherence: 93.75%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
35	99.18	01	1
1101	99.02	02	1
517	98.52	044	1
425	98.36	1945K	1
1609	98.36	1962K	1
1456	98.19	2102K	1
1448	98.19	2482K	1
020	97.86	2674	1
1354	97.70	606K	1
056K	97.70	61	1

**GA 1908K****Editorial Text: 95.23%****Byzantine Coherence: 62.50%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
075K	97.83	075K	9
020	97.20	1845	4
1101	96.71	442K	3
517	96.55	0151K	2
35	96.55	02	2
1609	96.38	1409	2
1845	96.22	1678K	2
1456	96.22	2400	2
425	96.05	2492	2
1241	96.05	2516	2

**GA 1912****Editorial Text: 95.58%****Byzantine Coherence: 31.25%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
2805	96.40	2464	9
2464	96.36	2102K	5
256	95.58	2805	5
025	95.40	010	4
203	95.25	012	4
436	95.09	0278	4
81	94.76	1985K	4
020	94.75	02	3
1845	94.60	03	3
1241	94.60	044	3

**GA 1918****Editorial Text: 91.36%****Byzantine Coherence: 75.00%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
620	96.01	620	12
582	95.02	582	11
454K	94.35	2464	5
1101	94.19	454K	5
35	94.02	1390	4
1798K	93.85	1985K	4
517	93.69	03	3
425	93.52	1398	3
1448	93.52	1661	3
436	93.36	1984K	3

**GA 1935K****Editorial Text:** 94.11%**Byzantine Coherence:** 78.13%

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
1987K	99.02	1950K	9
1950K	98.53	1987K	8
1101	97.38	1973K	6
35	97.22	1984K	6
2197K	97.22	254K	6
1973K	97.05	103K	5
858K	96.89	1524K	5
455K	96.89	1961K	5
1798K	96.89	1995K	5
254K	96.73	2197K	5

**GA 1943K****Editorial Text:** 93.84%**Byzantine Coherence:** 84.38%

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
2002K	98.17	1991K	7
1798K	97.84	2002K	7
1101	97.84	2482K	7
2482K	97.83	1995K	6
35	97.67	1973K	5
2197K	97.67	1984K	5
1973K	97.50	2105K	5
1977K	97.50	254K	5
858K	97.34	608K	5
020	97.33	012	4

**GA 1945K****Editorial Text:** 94.76%**Byzantine Coherence:** 81.25%

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
1241	97.87	606K	6
1101	97.87	0278	3
35	97.71	1241	3
020	97.71	018K	2
517	97.38	02	2
1609	97.22	025	2
1899	97.21	044	2
425	96.89	1115	2
606K	96.73	1127	2
436	96.73	1573	2

**GA 1947K****Editorial Text:** 93.36%**Byzantine Coherence:** 78.13%

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
858K	97.01	1961K	6
1798K	97.01	1984K	6
455K	96.68	1995K	6
254K	96.68	254K	6
1101	96.68	608K	6
720K	96.67	858K	6
1961K	96.58	103K	5
517	96.51	1524K	5
35	96.51	1798K	5
1973K	96.51	1973K	5

**GA 1950K****Editorial Text:** 93.94%**Byzantine Coherence:** 78.13%

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
1987K	98.85	1935K	9
1935K	98.53	1987K	8
1101	97.22	1973K	6
35	97.05	1984K	6
2197K	97.05	254K	6
1973K	96.89	2576K	6
858K	96.73	103K	5
455K	96.73	1524K	5
1798K	96.73	1961K	5
254K	96.56	1995K	5

**GA 1961K****Editorial Text:** 93.42%**Byzantine Coherence:** 75.00%

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
455K	98.99	455K	11
886K	97.98	1984K	9
858K	97.47	2576K	9
1798K	97.47	1976K	8
1973K	97.30	2102K	8
2576K	97.13	886K	8
2197K	97.13	1973K	7
1977K	97.12	1985K	7
254K	96.97	1995K	7
1987K	96.97	254K	7

**GA 1962K****Editorial Text:** 94.57%**Byzantine Coherence:** 75.00%

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
1101	97.45	02	2
35	97.28	1845	2
517	96.77	1943K	2
436	96.77	1995K	2
1609	96.77	2002K	2
1899	96.77	2464	2
425	96.60	2482K	2
1798K	96.27	33	2
1456	96.27	608K	2
1448	96.27	012	1

**GA 1969K****Editorial Text:** 94.93%**Byzantine Coherence:** 71.88%

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
1101	97.55	103K	2
35	97.38	1524K	2
1609	97.05	1798K	2
1456	97.05	1830	2
517	96.89	1961K	2
1798K	96.73	1973K	2
1448	96.73	1976K	2
020	96.72	1977K	2
425	96.56	1984K	2
2197K	96.56	1991K	2

**GA 1973K****Editorial Text:** 93.94%**Byzantine Coherence:** 81.25%

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
2197K	99.18	2102K	11
858K	98.53	1985K	10
1798K	97.87	2197K	10
455K	97.71	2000K	9
254K	97.71	858K	9
1987K	97.71	103K	8
103K	97.71	1984K	8
2002K	97.68	2248K	8
1101	97.55	254K	8
1943K	97.50	1524K	7



**GA 1976K****Editorial Text:** 92.79%**Byzantine Coherence:** 78.13%

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
1984K	97.38	1984K	12
858K	96.72	1961K	8
455K	96.72	2102K	8
2197K	96.72	1973K	7
1973K	96.56	1995K	7
1987K	96.39	2000K	7
1961K	96.28	2248K	7
886K	96.23	254K	7
35	96.23	2576K	7
1798K	96.23	455K	7

**GA 1977K****Editorial Text:** 94.09%**Byzantine Coherence:** 81.25%

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
1101	97.87	1961K	6
858K	97.70	1976K	6
35	97.70	1995K	6
1798K	97.70	254K	6
517	97.54	1973K	5
2197K	97.54	1984K	5
1943K	97.50	1991K	5
886K	97.37	2002K	5
455K	97.37	2102K	5
254K	97.37	2105K	5

**GA 1984K****Editorial Text:** 93.13%**Byzantine Coherence:** 71.88%

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
1976K	97.38	1976K	12
455K	97.22	1985K	10
1961K	96.80	2102K	10
858K	96.73	1961K	9
2197K	96.73	254K	9
886K	96.56	1973K	8
254K	96.56	1995K	8
1973K	96.56	2248K	8
1987K	96.40	2576K	8
1798K	96.40	455K	8

**GA 1985K****Editorial Text: 87.75%****Byzantine Coherence: 65.63%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
2102K	96.69	2102K	44
1973K	91.89	1973K	10
2197K	91.72	1984K	10
858K	91.06	2197K	8
1987K	91.06	1961K	7
455K	90.73	2000K	7
254K	90.73	2248K	7
1984K	90.73	254K	7
1961K	90.61	858K	7
1950K	90.40	1976K	6

**GA 1987K****Editorial Text: 94.76%****Byzantine Coherence: 78.13%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
1935K	99.02	1935K	8
1950K	98.85	1950K	8
2197K	98.20	1973K	6
1101	98.04	1984K	6
35	97.87	2197K	6
1973K	97.71	2248K	6
858K	97.55	254K	6
455K	97.55	103K	5
1798K	97.55	1524K	5
254K	97.38	1961K	5

**GA 1991K****Editorial Text: 93.29%****Byzantine Coherence: 74.19%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
1943K	96.80	1943K	7
1798K	96.64	1984K	7
35	96.31	1995K	7
2002K	96.31	2002K	7
1609	96.31	2105K	7
020	96.30	2482K	7
517	96.14	254K	7
2197K	96.14	608K	7
1101	96.14	1798K	6
1977K	96.13	1961K	6

**GA 1995K****Editorial Text: 93.07%****Byzantine Coherence: 81.25%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
858K	97.20	608K	9
1798K	97.20	1984K	8
1943K	97.15	103K	7
1973K	97.03	1961K	7
1977K	97.02	1973K	7
455K	96.87	1976K	7
254K	96.87	1991K	7
2197K	96.87	254K	7
1101	96.87	858K	7
517	96.70	1524K	6

**GA 2000K****Editorial Text: 91.33%****Byzantine Coherence: 75.00%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
2248K	96.40	2248K	20
1973K	95.42	2102K	10
858K	95.25	1973K	9
2197K	95.25	1524K	8
254K	94.76	254K	8
1987K	94.76	858K	8
1798K	94.76	103K	7
1524K	94.60	1976K	7
1101	94.60	1984K	7
103K	94.60	1985K	7

**GA 2002K****Editorial Text: 94.21%****Byzantine Coherence: 78.13%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
2482K	98.34	2482K	10
1943K	98.17	1943K	7
2197K	97.85	1973K	7
1973K	97.68	1991K	7
1798K	97.68	1995K	6
1101	97.52	2105K	6
35	97.35	2197K	6
1977K	97.34	254K	6
858K	97.19	608K	6
425	97.02	103K	5

**GA 2003****Editorial Text: 94.60%****Byzantine Coherence: 84.38%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
1609	98.53	142	1
517	98.36	1609	1
35	98.36	1678K	1
1101	98.20	1751	1
425	97.87	1867	1
1456	97.87	38	1
020	97.71	629	1
1448	97.55	858K	1
1899	97.54	941	1
2298	97.22	01	0

**GA 2004****Editorial Text: 94.27%****Byzantine Coherence: 84.38%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
517	98.04	0151K	2
35	97.71	018K	2
1609	97.55	1573	2
1101	97.55	2104K	2
020	97.38	2492	2
425	97.22	263	2
1456	97.05	38	2
1899	96.88	02	1
454K	96.73	020	1
2003	96.73	025	1

**GA 2102K****Editorial Text: 87.75%****Byzantine Coherence: 68.75%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
1985K	96.69	1985K	44
1973K	92.38	1973K	11
2197K	91.89	1984K	10
858K	91.56	2000K	10
1961K	91.30	1961K	8
455K	91.23	1976K	8
1987K	91.23	2197K	8
254K	90.89	2248K	8
1101	90.73	858K	8
1977K	90.70	254K	7

**GA 2104K****Editorial Text: 91.82%****Byzantine Coherence: 78.13%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
1798K	95.09	2000K	7
1101	94.93	886K	7
886K	94.76	103K	6
455K	94.76	1961K	6
35	94.76	1973K	6
1609	94.76	1984K	6
517	94.60	2248K	6
1987K	94.60	254K	6
1973K	94.60	455K	6
020	94.59	1524K	5

**GA 2105K****Editorial Text: 92.96%****Byzantine Coherence: 81.25%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
1798K	96.73	1991K	7
1977K	96.72	1973K	6
2197K	96.56	1995K	6
1101	96.56	2002K	6
1943K	96.51	2482K	6
35	96.40	254K	6
1973K	96.40	608K	6
2002K	96.36	103K	5
858K	96.24	1524K	5
2482K	96.19	1798K	5

**GA 2127****Editorial Text: 93.44%****Byzantine Coherence: 56.25%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
256	96.89	365	9
365	96.21	1573	8
436	95.57	256	7
263	94.75	263	7
2523	94.43	0278	4
1101	94.43	2523	4
104	94.43	442K	4
459	94.40	104	3
35	94.26	1115	3
203	93.93	1127	3

**GA 2197K****Editorial Text:** 94.44%**Byzantine Coherence:** 78.13%

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
1973K	99.18	1973K	10
858K	98.36	1985K	8
1987K	98.20	2102K	8
1798K	98.04	2248K	8
455K	97.87	1984K	7
1101	97.87	2000K	7
2002K	97.85	858K	7
35	97.71	1976K	6
1943K	97.67	1987K	6
254K	97.55	2002K	6

**GA 2248K****Editorial Text:** 91.16%**Byzantine Coherence:** 80.65%

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
2000K	96.40	2000K	20
2197K	95.42	1973K	8
858K	95.25	1984K	8
254K	95.09	2102K	8
1973K	95.09	2197K	8
1987K	94.93	254K	8
35	94.60	858K	8
1798K	94.60	1524K	7
1524K	94.60	1976K	7
1448	94.60	1985K	7

**GA 2298****Editorial Text:** 94.11%**Byzantine Coherence:** 87.50%

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
517	98.20	1524K	3
35	97.87	1984K	3
020	97.87	2000K	3
1609	97.71	2104K	3
1101	97.71	2248K	3
1456	97.55	254K	3
1448	97.55	020	2
1390	97.55	103K	2
425	97.38	1390	2
1830	97.38	1751	2

**GA 2400****Editorial Text: 93.78%****Byzantine Coherence: 53.13%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
451	98.20	2516	16
330	97.71	451	16
1398	97.53	1398	15
2516	97.38	330	14
2492	95.04	2492	8
1101	94.60	1661	5
020	94.59	1881	5
436	94.44	38	5
35	94.44	010	4
1987K	94.27	012	4

**GA 2464****Editorial Text: 95.03%****Byzantine Coherence: 31.25%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
1912	96.36	1912	9
81	94.87	012	6
2805	94.87	1985K	6
03	94.04	010	5
436	93.87	02	5
256	93.71	1918	5
203	93.71	2102K	5
1845	93.71	2805	5
506	93.38	506	5
020	93.37	0278	4

**GA 2482K****Editorial Text: 93.70%****Byzantine Coherence: 80.65%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
2002K	98.34	2002K	10
1943K	97.83	1943K	7
2197K	97.51	1973K	7
1973K	97.35	1991K	7
1798K	97.35	1995K	6
1101	97.18	2102K	6
1977K	97.17	2105K	6
35	97.02	2197K	6
858K	96.85	254K	6
254K	96.68	608K	6

**GA 2492****Editorial Text: 93.39%****Byzantine Coherence: 58.06%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
451	96.20	2516	12
330	96.20	451	11
2516	95.70	1398	10
1398	95.51	330	10
2400	95.04	2400	8
1390	95.04	263	4
020	95.03	38	4
203	94.71	384	4
1101	94.71	442K	4
517	94.55	506	4

**GA 2516****Editorial Text: 92.80%****Byzantine Coherence: 59.38%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
451	98.20	451	19
330	97.71	1398	18
1398	97.53	2400	16
2400	97.38	330	16
2492	95.70	2492	12
1352	94.11	06	5
1101	93.94	1661	5
020	93.93	38	5
35	93.78	010	4
1987K	93.78	0278	4

**GA 2523****Editorial Text: 94.44%****Byzantine Coherence: 75.00%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
436	97.05	263	5
35	97.05	1573	4
1101	96.89	2127	4
517	96.56	365	4
256	96.56	0278	3
1456	96.56	256	3
1352	96.56	442K	3
425	96.40	02	2
1987K	96.40	104	2
1609	96.40	1127	2



**GA 2544****Editorial Text: 94.92%****Byzantine Coherence: 53.13%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
81	95.25	02	3
436	95.25	1524K	3
256	95.08	254K	3
1987K	95.08	33	3
1101	95.08	442K	3
35	94.92	0278	2
203	94.75	075K	2
025	94.73	1751	2
1456	94.59	1830	2
1448	94.59	1845	2

**GA 2576K****Editorial Text: 93.29%****Byzantine Coherence: 78.13%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
455K	97.71	1961K	9
1961K	97.13	455K	9
1987K	96.73	1984K	8
858K	96.56	1976K	7
35	96.56	254K	7
254K	96.56	38	7
2197K	96.56	1950K	6
886K	96.40	1985K	6
1973K	96.40	2102K	6
1798K	96.40	886K	6

**GA 2674****Editorial Text: 92.42%****Byzantine Coherence: 87.50%**

<b>Pregenealogical Coherence</b>		<b>Agreements in Variation</b>	
<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Agreements</b>
517	96.21	2516	4
35	96.21	582	4
1609	96.05	1398	3
1456	96.05	2400	3
1390	96.05	330	3
1101	96.05	38	3
1448	95.88	451	3
425	95.72	0151K	2
1899	95.70	075K	2
020	95.55	1390	2

# GA 2805

**Editorial Text: 95.58%**

**Byzantine Coherence: 58.06%**

Pregenealogical Coherence		Agreements in Variation	
Manuscript	Percentage	Manuscript	Agreements
436	97.05	1912	5
35	96.56	2464	5
020	96.56	010	4
517	96.40	012	4
203	96.40	0150K	3
1912	96.40	06	3
1101	96.40	03	2
1456	96.24	044	2
425	96.07	1524K	2
1609	96.07	1918	2



## APPENDIX 4

### PARATEXTUAL FEATURES

The following table catalogues the paratextual features that were tracked for Chapter 5 (“The Paratextual Features of the Manuscripts”).<sup>1</sup> It includes a column for the manuscript siglum followed by columns for each of the paratextual features analyzed in Chapter 5, namely, hypotheses, kephalaia lists, marginal kephalaia numbers, lection identifiers, stichometric notations, and the order of Paul’s letters. An “X” indicates that a feature is present. For the “Book Order” column, a “1” indicates that the Pastorals follow 2 Thessalonians; a “2” indicates that Hebrews follows 2 Thessalonians; a “3” indicates the peculiar order of manuscript 1241: 1-2 Cor, Gal, 1-2 Thess, 1-2 Tim, Titus, Phlm, Heb, Rom, Eph, Phil, Col. If a manuscript is lacunose for a particular feature for 2 Thessalonians then other letters of the same manuscript were consulted to see if the paratextual feature was present elsewhere.

***Table A4.1: Paratextual Features of the Manuscripts***

<b>MSS</b>	<b>Hypothesis</b>	<b>Keph. List</b>	<b>Keph. Margin</b>	<b>Lect. Ident.</b>	<b>Stichoi</b>	<b>Book Order</b>
6	X			X	X	1
33						2
35	X			X	X	1
38	X					2
61	X					1
81						2
88	X	X	X		X	2
90						1
104		X	X		X	1
131		X				2
142	X					1
203	X	X	X	X	X	1
218	X	X			X	2
256	X	X			X	2
263						2
330		X		X		1
365						1

<sup>1</sup> In that chapter I analyzed the paratextual features of all of the non-commentary minuscules included in this thesis (cf. page 214).

MSS	Hypothesis	Keph. List	Keph. Margin	Lect. Ident.	Stichoi	Book Order
384				X		1
425	X	X		X	X	1
436	X	X		X	X	2
451		X		X		1
459	X	X	X		X	1
506	X	X	X	X	X	1
517	X	X		X	X	1
582						1
620						1
629						1
630	X					1
915	X	X	X	X	X	2
941				X		1
999	X				X	1
1101	X				X	1
1115	X			X		1
1127	X	X		X		1
1241	X				X	3
1311	X	X			X	1
1352	X	X			X	2
1354	X		X	X		1
1390					X	1
1398			X		X	1
1409	X	X		X	X	1
1448	X	X		X		1
1456	X			X		1
1573				X		1
1609	X			X		1
1661						1
1729	X	X	X	X	X	2
1739			X	X		2
1751	X	X		X		1
1830	X	X	?		X	1
1838				X		2
1845	X	X	X		X	2
1867	X	X	X	X		1
1881						2
1890	X					1
1899	X			X	X	1
1912	X	X	X		X	2
1918						1
2003						1
2004	X		X		X	1
2005		X		X		1
2127						2
2138						1
2298	X	X	X		X	2

<b>MSS</b>	<b>Hypothesis</b>	<b>Keph. List</b>	<b>Keph. Margin</b>	<b>Lect. Ident.</b>	<b>Stichoi</b>	<b>Book Order</b>
2400						1
2464	X		X			2
2492						1
2516						1
2523				X		1
2544	X		X	X		2
2558	X	X	X	X	X	1
2625	X	X	X		X	1
2674	X					1
2736	X				X	1
2772						1
2805	X				X	1



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